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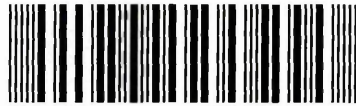
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**A Comparison of Arabic and English Directness and Indirectness: Cross-  
Cultural Politeness**

**Zainab Mohamed Kerkam**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of  
Sheffield Hallam university  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**(Volume 1)**

**Faculty of Development and Society  
Sheffield Hallam University**

**2015**



## **Dedication**

*I would like to dedicate this thesis to my husband Mohamed whose infinite patience and encouragement throughout my study made it possible for me to complete this work, and to our Children, Hodaifa, Suhaib, Owais and Qatada who are indeed a treasure from God.*

## **Acknowledgement**

This research could not have been completed without the help and support of many people who deserve my sincere thankfulness and gratitude to all of them.

I first of all wish to express my deep indebtedness and gratitude to my supervisor and director of study Professor Sara Mills for having been constant source of invaluable advice and support. Her continual guidance and encouragement made this work come to completion.

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I would like to register my sincere thanks to the many people who have participated kindly in providing me with the data I needed for this thesis.

Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude and love to my parents, whose never-tiring love and generous support made this work possible, to my sisters, Mariam, Amina, Somaia and Hajar and my brothers, Khaled and Ahmad for providing me with the help and support I needed to complete my study. I also would like to express my thanks to my friend Fathia for her help and advice.

## **Abstract**

### **A Comparison of Arabic and English Directness and Indirectness: Cross-Cultural Politeness**

This thesis examines cross-cultural variation in directness and indirectness by discussing the ways in which they function and are interpreted in Arabic and English. It shows that our understanding of directness and indirectness should not be restricted to a specific view which might not be applicable cross-culturally. I compare the two forms in both language communities, rather than simply outlining the main differences between them. I focus as much on the similarities between the ways in which directness and indirectness are performed in these two cultures as on the differences between them, in order to demonstrate that these two cultures are not polar opposites. I also examine what might be considered appropriate with respect to directness and indirectness and how these forms are conventionalised in relation to politeness and impoliteness in each culture. My data consists of a mixed methods approach: quantitative, (questionnaires) as well as qualitative (focus groups and naturally occurring data). The variety of data examined in both languages makes the results obtained through this study of greater interest. However, this is not to argue that a given language or cultural community is homogeneous, nor that a generalisation about the understanding and function of directness and indirectness can be made cross-culturally. In addition, this research argues for the inadequacy of the traditional theories of politeness (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983, Lakoff, 1975), which fail to provide sufficient engagement with cultural and contextual aspects, which play a significant role in evaluating interactions. Thus, I move towards a more appropriate approach, that is a discursive approach, to the analysis of politeness (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011; Kadar and Mills, 2011), which is a context- and situation-based model. In this way, I hope to develop a more contextual and adequate approach to cross-cultural politeness and impoliteness research.

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## Convention for transliteration Arabic sounds into English

Arabic Letters	Name in Arabic	English sounds used to transliterate Arabic sounds
ا	'alif	a (consonantal), a: (lengthening)
ب	bā'	b
ت	tā'	t
ث	thā'	θ
ج	Jīm	ʒ
ح	hā'	h
خ	khā'	χ
د	Dāl	d
ذ	<u>dhāl</u>	ð
ر	rā'	r
ز	Zain	z
س	Sīn	s
ش	Shīn	ʃ
ص	ṣād	s <sup>ʕ</sup>
ض	ḍād	d <sup>ʕ</sup>

ط	ṭā'	t <sup>ʕ</sup>
ظ	dā'	ḏ <sup>ʕ</sup>
ع	`ayn	ʕ
غ	Gayn	ɣ
ف	fā'	f
ق	Qāf	q
ك	Kāf	k
ل	Lām	l
م	Mīm	m
ن	Nūn	n
ه	hā'	h
ة	tā' marbūṭah	t
و	Wāw	w (consonantal), u: (lengthening)
ي	yā'	j (consonantal), i: (lengthening)
ء	Hamzah	ʔ
ا	Alifmamdda	`aa
ى	Alifmaqsura	à

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# Chapter 1

## 1.1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the relation between (in)directness<sup>1</sup> and politeness and impoliteness.<sup>2</sup> My examination of directness and indirectness looks at the cross-cultural use of both forms by Arabic and English speakers.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the traditional theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1975; Leech, 1983), where the role of culture and context does not seem to be considered as fundamental to politeness in these studies, the analytical framework of the present study takes variability across cultures, as well as context, as its central focus. However, although every cultural community may have culture-specific values and norms<sup>4</sup> (which might be similar to or different from other communities) which are built on different ideologies, these are not homogeneous (Kadar and Mills, 2011). Thus, “[i]t would be very difficult and indeed inadvisable to make any generalisations about all English-speaking or Arabic-speaking communities” (Grainger et al. 2015: 42). However, this thesis aims to describe some of the ideologies that are responsible for the sense of shared language activities among the speakers within both communities. For example, Agha (2003) uses the term *enregisterment*, which is defined by Christie (2013) as the process which becomes associated with certain personal qualities to certain aspects of accent and thus becomes “available as a signalling device” (Christie, 2013: 158). Agha argues that accent can be an identification of the social identity of individuals through their production of utterances, rather than simply being seen as ‘sound patterns’.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> (In)directness refers to directness and indirectness as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> Definitions of (in)directness are provided in section 4.2.

<sup>3</sup> The focus of this thesis is largely on British-English and Libyan-Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> However, cultural norms themselves are not static but, rather, dynamic, as we will see in Chapter 3.

<sup>5</sup> A more detailed discussion on *enregisterment* and *indexicality* is provided in Chapter 2.

Although many cross-cultural studies on politeness analyse the existence of both directness and indirectness in their cultural or linguistic communities,<sup>6</sup> the conventionalised routines which are associated with such linguistic practices seem to vary from one culture to another. Thus, while there are similarities in the occurrence of these linguistic practices within different cultural groups, the cultural norms, which affect the use of direct and indirect forms, may differ from culture to culture. However, according to certain ideological beliefs, most work on English by some of the traditional theorists (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987; Levinson, 1983) portrays indirectness as fundamental in English,<sup>7</sup> attributing this to the belief that freedom from imposition takes priority in English.<sup>8</sup> Such a description of English preference of speech has been explored by many cross-cultural researchers (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima, 2002), who argue that their own language (which they believe to be more direct) and the English language are in stark opposition. My aim in this research, however, is to foreground and challenge such stereotypical assumptions and to argue that, despite the different conventions associated with the performance of direct and indirect forms of speech in both Arabic and English in certain contexts, the two cultures should not be presented as polar opposites. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that it is a matter of how certain ideologies around the use of such forms is conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable in both communities in certain situations, and how such ideologies have an impact on conventionalising certain linguistic practices (e.g. directness and indirectness) so that they are evaluated as either polite or impolite.

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<sup>6</sup>These studies will be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>7</sup> See 3.7.4. for more discussion of this claim.

<sup>8</sup>However, this is not to say that freedom from imposition does not have a priority in English; it does, but this does not mean that indirectness is always used where freedom from imposition is interpreted or directness is always avoided to avoid such imposition.

The main aim of this work is to investigate what might be considered as conventionalised and thus appropriate in both Arabic and English communities in terms of (in)directness, by demonstrating the similarities with regard to expectations of behaviour in each community. As such, in contrast to previous cross-cultural studies on directness and indirectness, which have investigated this phenomenon by contrasting these cultural forms between different cultures, I focus on the similarities as well as differences between different cultures' expectations of what might be conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable, and what might be considered as conventionalised and thus as being polite or impolite in terms of direct and indirect speech.

The vast majority of cross-cultural research on politeness, despite the useful contributions it has made to the politeness field, uses the theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) or modifies certain aspects of its model to deal with its shortcomings (Terkourafi, 2005) in a way that serves their general aim (e.g. showing that certain cultural communities prefer more positive politeness strategies). However, the traditional theory of politeness has been accused of being Western-oriented in focus (Wierzbicka, 2003), which gives the impression that this theory, despite extensive criticism, is still applicable among certain cultural communities (e.g. Western cultures in general, English in particular). However, in recent years, a new generation of politeness research has declared the invalidity of Brown and Levinson's model even for Western cultures, due to a number of problems.<sup>9</sup> As a reaction to the shortcomings of Brown and Levinson's theory, a more complex politeness and impoliteness model has been suggested by researchers, including Eelen (2001), Mills (2003), Watts (2003), the Linguistic Politeness Research Group

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<sup>9</sup>These problems will be discussed in Chapter 2.



(eds.), (2011) and Kadar and Mills (2011). This approach, in contrast to Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, takes contextual and situational factors into consideration in the analysis process and is well aware of the complexity and diversity of cultures. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that the adoption of such an approach for studies which deal with cross-cultural pragmatics is very useful because it is well-developed for such empirical research.<sup>10</sup> By drawing on this work, I hope to show, by reviewing several other models for analysing politeness, that a discursive approach to politeness is adequate for describing and understanding cross-cultural communication, where the participants may have different evaluations of what constitutes politeness and impoliteness. Thus, I adopt a discursive approach to the analysis of politeness as a framework for this study to analyse cross-cultural interactions.<sup>11</sup> The general goal, thus, is to move away from the basic assumptions of the traditional theories of politeness towards a more contextual and social approach to understanding politeness, because this is better able to account for what might be perceived as appropriate in each community.

I now discuss the motivations and scope for the study. Following this, I discuss my hypothesis and research questions. Then, I investigate the relationship between politeness, directness and indirectness. Finally, I outline the structure of the chapters of the present study.

## **1.2. Rationale for and Scope of the Research**

Several motivations led me to select this topic for this thesis. For example, as I show in my literature review, although the traditional politeness approach has been demonstrated to be

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<sup>10</sup>Evidence of this claim will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>11</sup> Discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness are discussed in Chapter 2

incapable of accounting for the politeness phenomenon (Mills, 2011), it has been largely adopted by many cross-cultural researchers, including those analysing Arabic (e.g. Jebahi, 2011; Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012), who use a similar strategy that is proposed by this theory to fit their own cultural community. For example, the traditional politeness theory simply assumes that there is a relationship between certain linguistic forms and their functions (Mills, 2011). Words such as ‘thank you’ or ‘please’ are always judged to be polite, whereas they can be used sarcastically or ironically. Furthermore, such polite formulaic expressions can be evaluated negatively in certain situations in Arabic, whereas they might be seen as essential in similar situations in English. An illustrative incident happened between my sister and myself when my son (who was 5-years-old at the time) asked her to pass him some bread by saying in Arabic ‘Aunt, give me bread’. I joined the conversation as follows:<sup>12</sup>

أنا : لازم	تقول	من	فضلك	لخويلة	والا	لا ؟
la:zim	tqu:l	min	fad'lik	lixwaila	walla	la
should	say	of	favour	aunt to	or	no
Me: You should say ‘please’ to your aunty, shouldn’t you?						

أختي: ماتعدلش	على	أمك	هذه	هابلة.
matʕaddilif	ʕala	ʔummyk	hadj	ha:bla
not bother you no	on	your mother	this	crazy
My sister (speaking to my son): Don’t care about what your mum says; she is crazy.				

According to traditional politeness theory, using the expression ‘please’ is supposed to be seen polite, but my sister’s comment here does not seem to support this evaluation: ‘Don’t care about what your mum says’. Such polite formulaic expressions are generally avoided in certain discourses, (e.g. interactions among family members) in Libyan Arabic. This may be attributed to the reason mentioned by Sifianou (1992) concerning Greek culture:

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<sup>12</sup> This example is taken from my log book data. Details of this data can be found in Chapter 5.

Members of the same in-group see it as their duty to help and support each other, both morally and financially, so they find no obvious reason for thanking or apologizing, unless for something they conceive of as being very serious or beyond the normal duties of the performer of the action, since the appropriate response is similar behaviour from everybody when the occasion arises (1992: 42).

This suggestion seems to be valid as far as Arab, or more precisely Libyan, speakers are concerned. Libyans tend to work hard to maintain good relationships and place a high value on solidarity and intimacy. In other words, they place a low emphasis on distance and privacy, and thus tend to employ informality. Thus, because such terms (e.g. 'please' and 'thank you') may index formality and social distance, they are avoided in familial contexts. Therefore, while some items are considered to be polite in some cultures, they might be perceived differently in other societies.<sup>13</sup> However, this is not to say that these items are seen as impolite in the situation mentioned above in Arabic, but they might be seen as 'strange', because they are not conventionalised to be seen as appropriate. Furthermore, my sister's use of the word 'crazy' would be judged negatively by traditional politeness theory, while it is used here as a form of banter and is thus not judged as impolite.<sup>14</sup>

Another incident which sparked my interest in this research area happened when I boarded a bus in Sheffield, UK, for the first time. I found it very strange that people were thanking the driver and he was thanking them back. I considered that the driver was simply doing his job and, as the passengers were paying a fare to travel, I could not understand why they were thanking him. Interestingly, when I mentioned this incident to some Arab friends, they said that they had felt the same way when they first arrived in Britain. One of them mentioned another incident which happened while she was shopping in a supermarket, when

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<sup>13</sup> Evidence for this claim will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>14</sup> Culpeper (1996: 352) defines mock impoliteness or 'banter' as "impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence".

an English woman opened the door for her and stood back to allow her through. When my friend failed to thank the woman for opening the door for her, the English woman said: ‘When someone opens the door for you, you have to say ‘thank you’’. Such incidents and many others have led me to think a more complex approach is required, because a simple link between particular linguistic forms and certain functions that ignores contextual and cultural factors can lead to different evaluations of contexts is insufficient.

According to Pan (2011), most previous cross-cultural studies which investigate the notion of politeness and its relation to directness and indirectness appear to be constrained by the basic assumptions of the traditional theories of politeness (e.g. Ogiermann, 2009; Byon, 2006; Al-Ali and Alawneh, 2010). For example, directness is often characterised in the literature as impolite verbal behaviour as it is regarded as a potential face-threatening act,<sup>15</sup> while indirectness is perceived as polite behaviour. This distinction relies primarily on ideological assumptions about what constitutes polite behaviour in English (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; and Leech 1983). That is, as Pan (2011) argues, most linguistic politeness research simply applies Brown and Levinson’s (1987) model of politeness across cultures, raising critical issues with regard to politeness theories. For example, indirectness is argued not to be the most frequent form of politeness in all cultures, as directness can be considered polite behaviour in many societies.<sup>16</sup> However, the conception and interpretations of directness and indirectness may differ from one culture to another. That is, the argument surrounding the issue of (in)directness has been an argument about the applicability of Brown and Levinson’ (1987) theory among and across cultures,

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<sup>15</sup> See definitions in Section 2.2.1.4.

<sup>16</sup> A full discussion of this issue is provided in Chapter 4.

rather than one about the interpretation of the notions of directness and indirectness themselves, which I aim to interrogate critically.

Owing to the diversity and complexity that can be found within and across cultural communities, characterising a whole community as being simply direct or indirect appears inadequate. For example, it would be inadequate to categorize all English people as always preferring indirect forms, just because, in general, certain groups (e.g. the middle-classes) might have a tendency to use certain indirect linguistic forms in certain situations (e.g. requests). Furthermore, as I will show in chapter 2, most cross-cultural studies on politeness have simply applied Brown and Levinson's (1987) approach to the analysis of politeness, focusing on how certain speech acts can be used politely in comparison to English. As a result, the investigation of directness and indirectness has been restricted to the notion, that 'unlike English', where indirectness is seen as polite and directness as impolite, in other cultures, indirectness might involve some kind of dispreferred distance (such as in Greece, Sifianou, 1992) or some degree of ambiguity (such as in Germany, House, 2012). Thus, indirectness is dispreferred, while directness signals closeness and kindness. Thus, directness is seen as polite in these cultures.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in this research, I show that, instead of focusing on portraying a given cultural group as being more or less direct, or judging people according to the sort of group to which they belong, it is more appropriate to investigate the ideological motivations that make the usage and interpretation of certain behaviours conventional within particular communities which thus may be shared amongst speakers within these communities.

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<sup>17</sup> This is not an attempt to negate the importance of such work, nor to assert that such claims are untrue, but, what constitutes directness and indirectness in these cultures has not been investigated in such studies.

### 1.3. Research Hypothesis and Questions

The main hypothesis of my work is that Arabic and English cultures are not polar opposites, as they are usually described (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima, 2002; Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012)<sup>18</sup> because they may share the goal of engaging in appropriate behaviour but via adopting different strategies, due to the different expectations that they are expected to meet in their communities.<sup>19</sup> Although many cross-cultural studies on politeness analyse the existence of both (in)directness in their cultural or linguistic communities,<sup>20</sup> the conventionalised routines which are associated with such linguistic practices seem to vary from one culture to another. Thus, while there are similarities in the occurrence of these linguistic practices within different cultural groups, the cultural norms, which affect the use of direct and indirect forms, may differ from culture to culture. However, according to certain ideological beliefs, most work on English by some of the traditional theorists (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987; Levinson, 1983) portrays indirectness as fundamental in English,<sup>21</sup> attributing this to the belief that freedom from imposition takes priority in English.<sup>22</sup> Such a description of English preference of speech has been explored by many cross-cultural researchers (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima, 2002), who argue that their own language (which they believe to be more direct) and the English language are in stark opposition. My aim in this research, however, is to foreground and challenge such stereotypical assumptions and to argue that, despite the different conventions associated with the performance of direct and indirect forms of speech in both Arabic and English in certain contexts, the two cultures

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<sup>18</sup> More detailed discussion is provided in Chapter 4.

<sup>19</sup> This claim is discussed in Chapter 7.

<sup>20</sup> These studies will be discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>21</sup> See 3.7.4. for more discussion of this claim.

<sup>22</sup> However, this is not to say that freedom from imposition does not have a priority in English; it does, but this does not mean that indirectness is always used where freedom from imposition is interpreted or directness is always avoided to avoid such imposition.

should not be presented as polar opposites. Thus, the goal of this thesis is to show that it is a matter of how certain ideologies around the use of such forms is conceived as appropriate and thus acceptable in both communities in certain situations, and how such ideologies have an impact on conventionalising certain linguistic practices (e.g. directness and indirectness) so that they are evaluated as either polite or impolite.

On the basis of the above mentioned considerations and arguments, the main research questions are as follows:

- 1) – To what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness and directness and impoliteness?*
- 2) – Is (in)directness perceived differently in Arab and English cultures?*
- 3) – How adequate is a discursive theoretical approach to the analysis of (in)directness?*

Thus, the main aim of this thesis is to contribute to the understanding of (im)politeness and its relation to (in)directness by examining these phenomena in Arabic and English respectively. This thesis also aims to analyse some of the cultural stereotypes of Arabic and English cultures, in order better to understand politeness and impoliteness and their use in intercultural communications.

#### **1.4. Politeness, Directness and Indirectness**

Most traditional theories argue for a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. I would argue that directness can be appropriate in certain situations but dispreferred in others. Similarly, indirectness can be used politely in particular contexts, but it can also be

used to offer deliberate offence or harsh criticism in others.<sup>23</sup> However, directness should not be treated as a default from which the speakers always deviate, as it can simply be used because there is no need for explicitness due to the fact that the same linguistic repertoire is shared by the interlocutors. Thus, more implicit forms are preferred in such situations. This is not particular to a certain culture, but applicable to both Arabic and English. As such, it would be difficult to classify a whole community as direct or indirect, because we cannot simply make generalisations about the interpretations and the functions of (in)directness within or across cultures (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, it might be possible to describe some of the ideologies of certain language activities that are shared among many of the speakers within both communities. Thus, I would argue that there is no single way to express or interpret directness and indirectness. The supposed association between the English use of indirectness and politeness might not be always accurate, because indirectness can sometimes be used to cause deliberate offence.<sup>24</sup> Directness, on the other hand, which is ideologically linked to rudeness in English, may be more frequent in everyday interactions in English than it is generally believed to be.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, despite the attempts by cross-cultural researchers to present positive evaluations of direct speech in their culture, the same effort has not been made to investigate the negative evaluations that indirectness may incur.<sup>26</sup> They simply declare that the supposed English indirectness is unsuited to their culture without investigating its conception and interpretation in their communities. The reason for this may be attributed to the dependence of these studies on Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, which encourages generalisations about linguistic communities. In this research, thus, I have moved away from Brown and Levinson's perspective on (in)directness to analyse

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<sup>23</sup> Examples which support this claim are provided in Chapter 7.

<sup>24</sup> As I show in Chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>25</sup> See Chapters 6 and 7 for more details.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of these studies.



(im)politeness and (in)directness in a way that enables me to frame an appropriate description of this phenomenon in Arabic and English.<sup>27</sup>

### **1.5. Structure of the Thesis**

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2, Theories of Politeness and Impoliteness, provides an overview of the politeness and impoliteness approaches, by critically investigating the traditional theories of politeness. It also aims to investigate the controversy between traditional theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson), which focus on how the individual's utterance can fit into a framework created by researchers, and discursive approaches (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; and Watts, 2003) which stress that what should be taken into consideration is the individual's judgement of (im)politeness which is shown in their utterance, and the contextual and cultural factors that influence such evaluations. Thus, I aim critically to review Brown and Levinson's model and theoretical work which has been influenced by their work, in order to shed light on the importance of adopting more contextual approaches with which to develop an adequate explanation for the politeness and impoliteness phenomena.

In chapter 3, Culture and Politeness, I focus on the relation between culture and politeness. I investigate certain aspects of culture that are considered to influence communication style and politeness strategies. I review the concept of culture and its relation to identity, and critically review certain proposed cultural dimensions (e.g. collectivism/individualism), considering the main problems with such distinctions. Further, I explain the importance of cultural and contextual factors in analysing (im)politeness in different cultures.

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<sup>27</sup> (Im)politeness includes politeness and impoliteness as a whole.

Thus, I investigate the concept of politeness and impoliteness in Arabic and English and highlight the main similarities and differences between the two cultures. The main aim of this chapter, thus, is to show that, despite the importance of culture in shaping the participants' strategy choices in interactions, 'culture' should be viewed as fluid and dynamic rather than static, and cultures are not homogeneous.

In chapter 4, Definition and Functions of (In)directness, I focus on the notion of directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness cross-culturally. The chapter investigates a wide range of issues related to these phenomena, including: definitions of the concept of directness and indirectness; the relationship between (in)directness and politeness or impoliteness cross-culturally; the motivations for indirectness; and the relationship between indirectness and politeness in different languages in general and in Arabic and English communities in particular. By so doing, I show how performing and interpreting directness and indirectness may differ from one cultural community to another, taking cultural and contextual factors into consideration.

In Chapter 5, Methodology, I present the methodological framework for this study taking into consideration the theoretical framework and hypothesis discussed in previous chapters. I assess the methods that are usually used for linguistic research data before explaining and justifying the methods used. I also present the data collection procedures through discussing the pilot studies that I carried out, and describing the methods I used to gather data for this study. The methods I used to gather data for this study constitute a mixed approach: quantitative, such as questionnaires; and qualitative, such as focus group data and naturally occurring data, including recorded and log-book data. The variety of data examined from both languages makes the results obtained more adequate.

In Chapter 6, Data Analysis (Questionnaire and Focus-group-data Analysis), I investigate the performance and interpretation of directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness in both Arabic and English, by examining data collected by means of Questionnaires and Focus Groups. The focus is on examining how directness and indirectness are perceived by the interactants from both communities. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to highlight the main ideological and cultural motivations that influence the interactants' strategic communication choices in terms of directness and indirectness in each community. I discuss the extent to which these may be considered to be conventionalised. Thus, I aim to examine the way in which people from both Arabic and English cultures feel they use directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness which is, in turn, influenced by their ideological beliefs about these linguistic forms.

In chapter 7, Data Analysis (Naturalistic-Data Analysis), I investigate, through the analysis of naturalistic data, the extent to which people from both Arabic and English communities conform to the way they feel that they and others should speak or behave, and compare it with the way they actually do speak or behave. This might be similar to or different from their ideological beliefs about the use of directness and indirectness in communication.

In chapter 8, Conclusion, I discuss the main findings of the data analysis and highlight the similarities and differences between the use and interpretation of directness and indirectness in Arab and English cultures. I also discuss the implications of the study, and I propose recommendations for further work.

## **1.6. Summary**

In brief, this thesis investigates how contextual and ideological factors affect the generation of different interpretations of utterances in various situations. Unlike most previous cross-cultural studies, which simply contrast behaviour between different languages, the focus of this thesis is on the similarities as well as the differences in how different types of cultural behaviour are interpreted and evaluated. Thus, this thesis as a whole aims to develop a new form of analysis, which can capture the complexity and diversity of cultures in relation to the notions of (in)directness and (im)politeness cross-culturally.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theories of Politeness and Impoliteness**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I outline the theoretical position of the present study. In section 2.2., I review the traditional politeness theories, in particular, those which have been influenced by the Gricean model, such as the work of Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), Brown and Levinson (1987). I outline the main weaknesses of these theories which, accordingly, cannot provide a solid basis on which to develop an explanation for individuals' behaviour in relation to politeness and impoliteness. Sperber and Wilson's (1986) relevance theory will also be discussed in this section. Although relevance theory is not particularly concerned with politeness, it is believed by many researchers (e.g. Escandell-Vidal, 1996; Jary, 1998; Watts, 2003; Christie, 2007) to be useful to inform politeness research. Since this study is also concerned with issues which are related to impoliteness, impoliteness theories, mainly those which are proposed by Culpeper (1996, 2005, 2011); and Bousfield (2008), are the main focus of section 2.3. In section 2.4., I discuss the discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness, in order to show how the adoption of such an approach for studies which deal with cross-cultural pragmatics is very useful, as it is well developed for such empirical research (as I show below). The main research question that is posed in this chapter is: how adequate is a discursive theoretical approach to the analysis of (im)politeness? Since the discursive approach offers a valuable analytical framework for understanding communicational interactions, I take a discursive approach as the theoretical basis of this study, as will be discussed in section 2.5.

## **2.2. Theories of Politeness**

According to Grainger (2011), there have been three main waves of politeness research: (1) the Gricean model; (2) discursive approaches; and (3) the sociological/interactional approach which takes a middle ground between both the Gricean model and discursive approaches to politeness theories.<sup>28</sup> The first wave of politeness theories was based on the Gricean model which was adopted and elaborated by many scholars (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983), and associated with second-order politeness.<sup>29</sup> Thus, it would be useful to review Grice's view which is the foundation of the work for these theorists.

### **2.2.1. Traditional Theories of Politeness: Critical Review**

#### **2.2.1.1 Grice**

Gricean pragmatics is principally based on the idea of implicature, proposed by Grice to distinguish between what the speakers literally say and what they actually mean. This framework has become known as 'conversational implicature'. The general principle from which conversational implicature is derived is called the 'Cooperative Principle' which is presented by Grice as follows: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice, 1975: 45). To support this principle, Grice proposes four maxims, each of which involves sub-maxims. They are maxims of Quality, Quantity, Relation and Manner. These maxims are described by Grice (1975: 45-46) as follows:

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<sup>28</sup>Due to space limitations and for the purpose of this study, the scope of my review of 'politeness theories' will include an extensive discussion of issues related to first and second waves of politeness research and will not therefore allow for a discussion of aspects related to the third wave.

<sup>29</sup>The definitions and more discussion about the difference between first-order politeness (politeness 1) and second-order politeness (politeness 2) will be provided in section 2.4.3. below.

### **1. Quantity**

- (1) Make your contribution as informative as required (for the purpose of the exchange).
- (2) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

### **2. Quality**

- (1) Do not say what you believe to be false.
- (2) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

### **3. Relation**

Be relevant

### **4. Manner**

- (1) Avoid obscurity of expression.
- (2) Avoid ambiguity.
- (3) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
- (4) Be orderly.

However, it might be thought that Grice is suggesting that speakers need to speak within this framework if they want to be cooperative. Grice was aware that these maxims are not always observed by speakers; rather, there are some situations when speakers do not observe all the maxims, but this does not necessarily mean that they are being non-cooperative. Accordingly, he suggests some ways in which people fail to observe one (or more) of these maxims, such as flouting a maxim which is the case “in which a speaker blatantly fails to observe a maxim, not with any intention of deceiving or misleading, but because the speaker wishes to prompt the hearer to look for a meaning which is different from, or in addition to, the expressed meaning” (Thomas, 1995: 65).

However, Grice’s CP has been criticized since these principles do not always affect interactional communication in everyday language. Sifianou (1992), for example, argues that the principles of conversation “ignore the significance of the expressive aspect of language use. They sound more like rules prescribing what should happen in business encounters rather than those describing normal, everyday speech” (1992: 16). The CP has also been criticized

from the viewpoint of the misleading label ‘cooperative’, “since what in everyday terms would be seen as ‘highly uncooperative’ behaviour, such as arguing, lying, hurling abuse, may yet be perfectly cooperative according to some interpretations of Grice’s (1975) term” (Fukushima, 2002: 31). Thomas (1995) also has criticized Grice’s maxims for overlapping, being unclear, or of different statuses.

Despite the limitations of Grice’s CP, some researchers assume that the Gricean model remains useful for analysis because “the assumption of cooperative behaviour is actually hard to undermine” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 5). Thomas (1994) suggests that, in spite of its limitations, “no one else .... has yet come up with anything better with which to replace it”. Sifianou (1992) also insists that the maxim of ‘be polite’, proposed by Grice, has motivated many scholars to build on the issue of politeness; thus, “whether in supporting or contesting his views, scholars such as Lakoff, Leech, and Brown and Levinson have been encouraged to produce a great deal of interesting work on the subject of politeness” (Sifianou, 1992: 20). These theories will be introduced in the following sections.

#### **2.2.1.2. Lakoff**

Lakoff (1973) adopts Grice’s view of Conversational Principles in order to account for politeness. However, she discusses the concept of politeness in terms of pragmatic rules rather than in terms of strategies. Lakoff (1973: 296) proposes two basic rules of pragmatic competence. They are:

1. Be clear.
2. Be polite.



Lakoff argues that both rules are not at the same level of importance. In other words, in most situations in which politeness and clarity are in conflict, people tend to choose not to offend others than to be clear. Her second pragmatic rule, 'be polite', consists of three rules of politeness. These are:

- 1: Don't impose.
- 2: Give options.
- 3: Make A feel good - be friendly (Lakoff, 1973: 298).

The first rule is associated with formality and distance. But Lakoff (1973: 298) suggests that this rule "can also be taken as meaning, Remain aloof, don't intrude into 'other people's business'". The second rule is associated with situations where the addressee is given a choice about their reaction towards the speaker (such as in the cases of hedges). In Lakoff's words: "certain particles may be used to give the addressee an option about how ... [they are] to react" (1973: 299). The third rule is associated with cases in which some strategies are used by the speaker to make their interactant feel good, as "it produces a sense of equality between Sp and A, and (providing Sp is actually equal or better than A) this makes A feel good" (Lakoff, 1973: 301). In her later work, Lakoff (1975: 65) reformulated her rules of politeness as follows:

1. Formality: keep aloof.
2. Deference: give options.
3. Camaraderie: show sympathy.

However, Lakoff's rules of politeness have been criticized for a number of reasons. Yeung (1997), for example, points out that Lakoff "never goes into the question of how the choice is made" (1997: 506). These rules have also been criticized from the viewpoint of their

assumed universality (Sifianou, 1992). For example, Lakoff argues that these rules are universal, “the only difference among cultures lying in the order of precedence of these rules” (Sifianou, 1992: 24). However, the matter is not restricted to the order of these rules: the issue has another dimension, as Sifianou (1992: 25) quite rightly says, it is “a matter of differing interpretations of the politeness involved in each particular action or utterance” rather than ordering these rules differently within different cultures.

### **2.2.1.3. Leech**

Like Lakoff, Leech (1983) expands on Grice’s views in his attempt to account for politeness phenomena. The approach that he proposed for pragmatics is ‘rhetorical’. By rhetorical Leech means “the effective use of language in its most general sense, applying it primarily to everyday conversation and only secondarily to more prepared and public uses of language” (1983: 15). Leech’s work on politeness consists primarily of two main systems of rhetoric, they are:

1- Textual rhetoric, which consists of the Processibility Principle, the Clarity Principle, the Economy Principle and the Expressivity Principle.

2- Interpersonal rhetoric, which consists of the following sets of principles: the Cooperative Principle with its four maxims (quality, quantity, relation and manner), the Politeness Principle, which consists of a set of maxims: tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy and the Irony Principle.

Leech argues that his Politeness Principle (PP) is an essential complement to Grice’s co-operative principles, and not just an additional principle. However, he points out that not all the maxims of the Politeness Principle are of equal importance. For example, the tact maxim is supposed to be more powerful than the generosity maxim. Leech also mentions that

every maxim consists of two sub-maxims. For example, the tact maxim includes (a) minimize cost to other, and (b) maximize benefit to other, whereas the generosity maxim consists of the two sub-maxims (a) minimize benefit to self and (b) maximize cost to self and so on. Leech further mentions that different cultures tend to place a higher value on certain maxims which indicates the possibility of cross-cultural differences. Leech argues, for example, that some Eastern cultures place a higher value on the modesty maxim than Western cultures, whereas Mediterranean cultures tend to value the generosity maxim more highly than the tact maxim, which is valued more in English-speaking cultures.<sup>30</sup> Leech also proposes three pragmatic scales associated with his maxims which have “a bearing on the degree of tact appropriate to a given speech situation” (1983: 123). These pragmatic scales are:

- 1- The COST- BENEFIT SCALE on which is estimated the cost or benefit of the proposed action.
- 2- The OPTIONALITY SCALE on which illocutions are ordered according to the amount of choice which s allows to h.
- 3- The INDIRECTNESS SCALE on which....illocutions are ordered with respect to the length of the path connecting the illocutionary act to its illocutionary goal.

Leech suggests two other scales that are related to politeness in addition to these three scales. They are: ‘authority’ and ‘social distance’. Therefore, “if speakers judge that the cost to the addressee, their relative authority and the social distance increase, they will attempt to provide the addressees with more options and will formulate their utterance with greater

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<sup>30</sup>As far as Arabic speakers are concerned, this suggestion seems to be valid, as Arab culture seems to value the importance of generosity, thus minimizing benefit to self and maximizing benefit to others. However, this is not to say that I agree with making generalizations about politeness across all Arab countries, as they are not homogenous as I will show in chapter, 4, 6 and 7 (see Grainger *et al.* 2015).

indirectness” (Sifianou, 1992: 28). What Leech seems to suggest here is that the more indirect the speaker is the more polite they are. However, this is not always the case, because in some situations, indirectness can be used for neutral (neither polite nor impolite), or even impolite purposes (as I show in chapter 6 and 7). Thus, such a suggestion does not always hold true within or across cultures.

Leech (1983: 83) also distinguishes between absolute and relative politeness. The former can be described “as a scale, or rather a set of scales, having a negative and a positive pole. Some illocutions (e.g. orders) are inherently impolite, and others (e.g. offers) are inherently polite”. Thus, negative politeness is perceived as “minimizing the impoliteness of impolite illocutions, and positive politeness consists in maximizing the politeness of polite illocutions” (Leech, 1983: 83-4). Relative politeness, on the other hand, relies on the norm of behaviour for a particular culture, as “it is clear that the Cooperative Principle and the Politeness Principle operate variably in different cultures or language communities, in different social situation among different social classes, etc” (Leech, 1983: 10). However, Leech’s observation regarding absolute politeness has been challenged. Sifianou (1992), for instance, wonders to what extent orders are always considered inherently impolite, and wonders whether orders, in the military or an educational context, are inherently polite or impolite. Furthermore, many theorists, such as Locher and Watts, (2005) and Mills, (2011), argue against the assumption that politeness or impoliteness are inherent in the utterances themselves; rather, their function may differ from one situation to another. For example, Mills (2003) argues that even the most offensive speech acts, such as threats and insults, are sometimes used by close friends in order to show camaraderie towards each other.

In a later development of his theory, Leech (2007) reformulated the maxims of politeness, but he avoided using the term ‘maxim’ because “it is so easily misconstrued” (Leech, 2007: 180). Instead, Leech prefers the term “pragmatic constraint” and uses ‘super-constraint’ which comprises all the maxims of tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy, and he labels this ‘*the Grand Strategy of Politeness*’ (GSP) which is defined as follows: “In order to be polite, *S* expresses or implies meanings which associate a high value with what pertains to *O* (*O* = other person(s), mainly the addressee) or associates a low value with what pertains to *S* (*S* = self, speaker)” (Leech, 2007: 181). By employing GSP, Leech (2007) argues, the speaker attempts to avoid offence which might be occasioned, if the participants only follow their own agenda without taking others’ feelings into consideration. However, Leech’s claim here gives the impression that the purpose of employing politeness is to avoid causing offence; thus people use politeness only for the sake of mitigation, which is not the case. Further, Leech relabels the kinds of politeness scale to be semantic (or absolute) and pragmatic (or relative) politeness scales. However, although his view has been heavily critiqued since the publication of his original work (1983), in this later work he has not modified his theorization of politeness in response to these critiques. For example, Leech (2007: 74) points out that “we can judge that ‘*Can you help me?*’ is more polite, as a request, than ‘*Help me*’, and is less polite than ‘*Could you possibly help me?*’” and attributes that to the choices open to the hearer: the more choices (which seems to be related to indirectness), the more polite the request is.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> A more detailed discussion about the relationship between opening options and directness and indirectness will be provided in Chapter 4 and 7.

However, as I have indicated above, politeness and impoliteness cannot be inherent in the utterances themselves, thus, the utterance ‘*Could you possibly help me?*’ can be used sarcastically or ironically and, consequently, judged negatively. In addition, this utterance might not be judged as more polite than other utterances he mentions (*Can you help me; Help me*), because they might be seen as equally appropriate (Locher and Watts, 2005). Furthermore, as Escandell-Vidal (1996) points out, such utterances can be perceived as a polite request in English, because they are conventional ways of requesting in this culture, while they might be interpreted as strange in similar contexts in other cultures, such as Poland and Russia, because they are not conventionalised to be seen as polite.

Leech’s politeness principles, also, have been criticized for a number of reasons. One of the criticisms is that Leech has an unconstrained number of maxims (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Thomas, 1995). Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, criticize Leech’s maxims on the ground that “[i]f we are permitted to invent a maxim for every regularity in language use, not only will we have an infinite number of maxims, but pragmatic theory will be too unconstrained to permit the recognition of any counterexamples” (1987: 4). There are criticisms concerning the universality of Leech’s maxims. Wierzbicka (2003: ix), for example, argues that “the once popular assumption that the ‘principles of politeness’ are essentially the same everywhere and can be described in terms of ‘universal maxims’ such as those listed in Leech (1983: 132)”. However, in his more recent work, Leech (2007) insists that he “never made any claim for the universality of ... [his] model of politeness”. (2007: 169). Despite this claim, Leech believes that there is a common pragmatic basis for polite behaviour in different societies. This raises the question of whether Leech really moved away from the claim for the universality of his principles.

#### 2.2.1.4. Brown and Levinson

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory is generally considered to be the most influential work in the field of politeness. They postulate a 'Model Person' (MP) who exhibits of two main properties: rationality and face. Brown and Levinson (1987: 58) point out that:

All our Model Person (MP) consists in is a wilful fluent speaker of a natural language, further endowed with two special properties – rationality and face. By 'rationality' we mean something very specific – the availability of our MP of a precisely definable mode of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends. By 'face' we mean something quite specific again: our MP is endowed with two particular wants – roughly, the want to be unimpeded and the want to be approved of in certain respects.

However, the claim for the 'Model Person' has been challenged. Pan (2011), for example, argues that within Brown and Levinson's politeness theoretical framework, the degree of politeness can be traced through the analysis of a particular speech act or politeness form within the context of a specific situation or culture. This model presents the 'Model Person' as "the embodiment of sharedness" which assumes that values and norms that constitute appropriate behaviour are shared by all speakers and hearers (Pan, 2011: 132). Mills (2003: 17) also argues that such an assumption brings us many difficulties, because it is assumed that "the individual can be discussed unproblematically as an autonomous person, who chooses to use certain language items and strategies rather than others". Furthermore, Mills (2003) maintains that the 'Model Person' is assumed to be universal. Accordingly, it is possible to make a generalization within or across cultures. However, "this tendency to characterise classes and cultures as homogeneous is not easily sustained when we examine the complexity of politeness in even one culture, or even within one class, and seems to be dependent on stereotypical beliefs about the linguistic behaviour of particular class" (Mills, 2003: 106). Another problem raised by Mills (2003) regarding the 'Model Person' is that participants are assumed to use language in order to achieve their own ends which involve

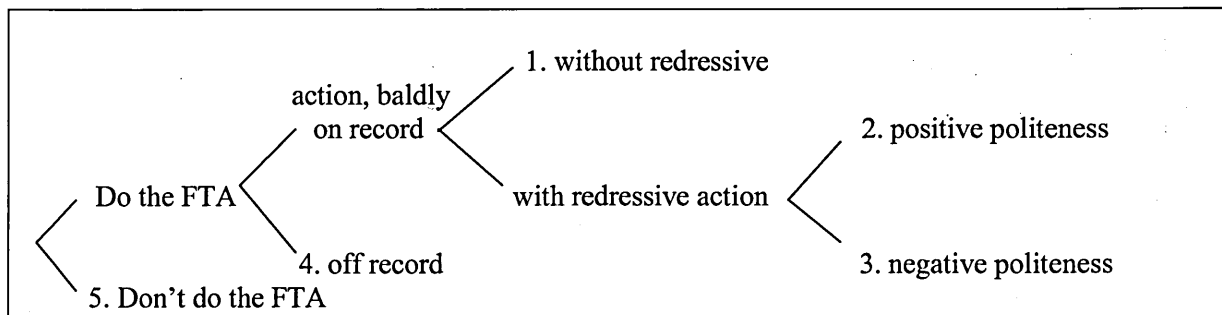
short term and long term goals. This notion, according to Mills, is problematic even in Western cultures, because it means that the individual perceives other people solely as a means to achieve their goals.

Brown and Levinson (1978) also suggest that some acts involve imposition on the participant's face. That is, they are inherently 'Face Threatening Acts' (FTAs)<sup>32</sup> which are "those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 70).<sup>33</sup> Face threatening acts have been described by Thomas (1995: 169) as follows:

An illocutionary act has the potential to damage the hearer's positive face (by, for example, insulting H or expressing disapproval of something which H holds dear) or H's negative face (an order, for example, will impinge upon H's freedom of action); or the illocutionary act may potentially damage the speaker's own positive face (if S has to admit to having botched a job, for example) or S's negative face (if S is cornered into making an offer of help).

Brown and Levinson (1987: 69) propose many strategies in order to minimize or avoid doing Face Threatening Acts (see figure 1. below).<sup>34</sup>

***Figure (1) Brown and Levinson's strategies for FTAs (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69)***



<sup>32</sup>The same argument with regard to the inherent meaning of utterances can be made here with Brown and Levinson, who argue that acts can be inherently polite or impolite, whereas they are multifunctional (Mills, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> See Chapter 1 for the definition and discussion of 'face'.

<sup>34</sup> I will review more fully these strategies in 4.3.



Fukushima (2002) explains that according to Brown and Levinson, “not only ‘face,’ but also the strategies of face redress, are universal. They further claim that the underlying rational, motivational, and functional foundations of politeness are assumed to be, to some extent, universal, and are assumed to influence, and be reflected by, speech in many different languages and cultures” (Fukushima, 2002: 41). However, Brown and Levinson’s claim for the universality of politeness strategies has been heavily criticized, because what they conceive as universal are seen, by many recent politeness researchers (e.g. Wierzbicka; 1985), as culturally specific as they are claimed to be basically based on English data and have a Western bias. Thus, Brown and Levinson’s model cannot be applicable to all cultures or all contexts.<sup>35</sup>

#### **2.2.1.4.1. Critique of Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory**

In spite of the limitations of Brown and Levinson’s theory, many researchers point out that its contribution to the study of politeness cannot be denied. Thomas (1995), for example, maintains that “Brown and Levinson’s work has been extraordinarily influential and very widely discussed. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of criticisms have been made of their model of politeness” (1995: 176). Similarly, Leech (2007) points out that “if ... [Brown and Levinson model] did not have the virtue of providing an explicit and detailed model of linguistic politeness, it could not have been attacked so easily” (2007: 168). However, in the light of the critique of many of politeness theories’ frameworks, Mills (2003) argues that the main area of debate can be centred on the fact that Brown and Levinson’s model (and all theoretical works that have been influenced by their work) remains at the

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<sup>35</sup>Some other criticisms of Brown and Levinson’s theory will be provided below.

utterance level. Thus, they are unable to explain the wide range of social and cultural differences of politeness phenomenon. Mills (2003) points out:

Theorists of linguistic politeness need to reorient their work so that they do not make false assumptions about what is going on in conversation when people judge each other as being polite or impolite. What we need are new ways of analysis politeness so that we can see the varying forces that at work in the process of being polite and impolite, and the outcome and effects of these assessments. I argue that we should not focus on, for example, the analysis of indirectness as an instance of polite behaviour, but rather that we should ask fundamental questions about whether all of the participants in the conversation we are analysing consider particular utterances as indirect and whether they themselves consider indirectness to be indicative of politeness or not (2003: 14).

Mills states that her aim “is not to attempt to negate the importance of this work by Brown and Levinson: in many ways, as a system of analysis, it works very well, within its own terms” (2003: 57). However, she argues for the abandonment of Brown and Levinson’s model and proposes a new more complex approach of politeness which “is concerned with the way that assessments of what politeness consists of are developed by individuals engaging with others in communities of practice, in the process of mapping out identities and positions for themselves and others within hierarchies and affiliative networks” (Mills, 2003: 58). Therefore, and in reaction to the weakness of Brown and Levinson’s model, a new more complex politeness model has been developed in recent years. That is the discursive approach to (im)politeness, which has focused on the importance of analyzing language at the discourse level rather than analysing single utterances.<sup>36</sup> But before investigating this approach, in the following section I discuss ‘Relevance Theory’, which has also been based on Gricean model.

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<sup>36</sup>Discursive approaches to politeness, as I will discuss more fully in section 2.4., argue for moving towards a more complex and dynamic model of (im)politeness which takes contextual and situational factors into consideration.

#### 2.2.1.5. Relevance Theory

Sperber and Wilson (1986) laid the foundation for a model of communication and cognition: Relevance Theory. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, although this theory is not particularly concerned with politeness research, Sperber and Wilson (1986) imply that this model might be of use to studies that are concerned with such sorts of phenomena (Christie, 2007). The relevance-theoretical approach is primarily based on Grice's view that utterances create expectations of relevance which enable the hearer to interpret the meaning intended by the speaker. In Wilson and Sperber's words "The central claim of relevance theory is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning" (2007: 607). However, Sperber and Wilson raise many points of criticisms regarding other aspects of Grice's account, including the need for Grice's cooperative principle and maxims, the violation of the maxims in interpretation and so on.

From a relevance-theoretical perspective, an 'input' is the premise that enables an individual to interpret the precise predictions and conclusions when this input is relevant to their background information. Such input yields what Wilson and Sperber call 'a Positive Cognitive Effect' by which they mean "a worthwhile difference to the individual's representation of the world: a true conclusion, for example." (Wilson and Sperber, 2007: 608). According to relevance theory, the main type of Positive Cognitive Effect is 'a Contextual Implication' which yields from the combination of the new information (context) with old information (input) and it is not deducible from either types alone.

Wilson and Sperber (2007) also argue that what guides the interpretation process of communication is the way human cognitive systems have evolved. They claim that it is not a

cultural-specific phenomenon; rather, it is something that all humans do. In Wilson and Sperber's (2007) words:

Relevance theory claims that humans do have an automatic tendency to maximize relevance, not because we have choice in the matter- we rarely do – but because of the way our cognitive systems have evolved. As a result of constant selection pressures towards increasing efficiency, the human cognitive system has developed in such a way that our perceptual mechanism tend automatically to pick out potentially relevant stimuli (2007: 610).

On the whole, the aim of interlocutors who are involved in the interpretation process is to improve their knowledge of the world. In order to achieve this goal, relevance theory argues that humans have developed the ability to select only relevant information and ignoring information that is not relevant to them.

Wilson and Sperber (2007) go on to suggest that in conveying information through the use of language, the speaker intends to affect the addressee's thoughts by giving evidence that s/he has this intention. The relevance-theoretical term for this process is 'ostensive-inferential communication, which includes the following layer of intention:

**Ostensive-inferential communication**

- a. The informative intention  
The intention to inform an audience of something.
- b. The communicative intention  
The intention to inform the audience of one's informative intention (Wilson and Sperber, 2007: 611).

Thus the hearer is entitled to stop if they succeeded in recognizing the speaker's intentions and understanding the interpretation. Within the framework of ostensive-inferential communication, the speaker tends to use what Wilson and Sperber call 'ostensive stimulus', the relevance theoretical term for the behaviour that is designed in order to "attract an audience's attention and focus it on the communicator's meaning". Therefore, the

communicator “encourages her audience to presume that it is relevant enough to be worth processing.” (Wilson and Sperber, 2007: 611). The authors’ claim, then, is that speakers tend to formulate their utterance in a way that attracts the addressee’s attention. At the same time, the hearer must assume that what is conveyed by the utterance is relevant to them and points them to the intended conclusions.

In the light of the above discussion, many researchers (Mey, 2001; Jary, 1998; Christie, 2007; Watts, 2003) believe that the adoption of a relevance-theoretical model can offer a better explanation for the sorts of phenomena that politeness research addresses than a Gricean approach. For example, Watts (2003: 26) argues that “relevance theory offers a more subtle and flexible method of deriving the kind of inferencing processes that participants in social interaction may be using when evaluating one another’s social behaviour”, while Grice’s approach fails to explain how meanings are arrived at in utterances because it “remains tied to the ideology of language as a semiotic code” (Watts, 2003: 204). Christie (2007) also draws attention to the inadequacy of Grice’s approach in explaining how the hearer is guided to interpret the meanings of even explicit utterances, and “it therefore does not provide a descriptive account of how apparently explicit utterances require the hearer to draw on pragmatic phenomena in order to interpret them” (Christie, 2007: 277). However, not only has Grice’s framework failed in providing a descriptive account for explicit utterances, but it also, despite its recognition of the importance of pragmatic phenomena in the interpretations of implied meanings, as Christie (2007) argues, failed in providing “a sufficiently descriptive account of how such interpretations are arrived at” (Christie, 2007: 277). For such reasons, Jary (1998: 2) argues for replacing a Gricean norm-based approach with a relevance theory approach because it “provides precise criteria for clearly defining instances of verbal communication and hence for distinguishing these from other forms of

information transfer". However, relevance theory has been criticised for overlooking the role of the speaker, and focusing only on the hearer's role in interactions (Bousfield, 2008). It has also been accused of being based on an encoding/decoding model which, consequently, "cannot successfully account for the property of emergence or interactional achievement that characterizes communication in general" (Haugh, 2007: 301).<sup>37</sup> However, the major criticism levelled at relevance theory is that "the theory does not have a sufficiently developed account of the social" (Christie, 2007: 270).<sup>38</sup> Mills (2003), for example, suggests that, although relevance theory provides a good framework for the process of interpreting utterances, which makes it more appropriate for the study of politeness than a Gricean approach, it does not take the social setting of interactions into account. That is, relevance theory accounts for individual behaviour in a way that assumes that cultures are homogeneous. Thus, for her, a more complex politeness model is needed. In Mills' (2003: 62-63) words:

Where we need to extend Jary's and Sperber and Wilson's work is to see that processing should not simply be seen in terms of the individual's cognitive processing, as if this takes place in a vacuum. What I am proposing is a model which focuses on the processing that an individual does in relation to the norms which s/he assumes exist within the community of practice and wider society. In addition it is important to acknowledge the constraints that those wider groupings impose on the individual.

Considering the criticisms of the theories I have discussed so far, it seems that none of the above frameworks can serve as the theoretical basis for a cross-cultural comparison, and

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<sup>37</sup>Arundale (2006: 195) explains an encoding/decoding model as "a speaker has a meaning that he or she intends a hearer to have, encodes it using knowledge of the language, and transmits the language forms by producing an utterance. The hearer decodes the utterance using knowledge of the language, and recovers the speaker's meaning".

<sup>38</sup>However, Christie (2007) points out that despite their focus on cognition in developing relevance theory, Sperber and Wilson do not assume that social factors play no role in meaning generation. They argue that "if human communication is of the inferential type, it presupposes and exploits an awareness of self and others. Inferential communication is intrinsically social" (Sperber and Wilson, 1997; cited in Christie, 2007: 271).

thus, I will not take their frameworks as the basis for the present study. Therefore, I consider another politeness model that might provide a better explanation for (im)politeness phenomena. That is the discursive approach to politeness and impoliteness. It is worth noting that this approach has also been criticised for a number of reasons (as I show in 2.4.4.). However, as I am adopting a discursive approach to politeness and impoliteness as the basis for my study, I will review these criticisms in an attempt to argue that this model, despite criticism, can provide a good framework for studies that are concerned with the analysis of politeness in the context of cross-cultural pragmatics. As my study is concerned with impoliteness research as well as politeness, I will first review some theories of impoliteness which are based, partly or fully, on Gricean the model before going on to discuss discursive approaches to politeness.

### **2.3. Theories of Impoliteness**

In recent years, there have been several attempts to construct a framework for impoliteness to account for confrontational interactions, some of which have adopted Brown and Levinson's (1987) model (such as Culpeper 1996, 2005; Bousfield 2008), while others have moved away from traditional frameworks towards more complex models (such as discursive approaches, e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003, 2011; Watts, 2003, Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011). In this section, I will discuss two main models which have been mapped out according to the Gricean model: one proposed by Culpeper (1996, 2005,) and the other proposed by Bousfield (2008). Both frameworks can be considered as an extension of Brown and Levinson's framework. However, in his recent work, Culpeper (2011) has proposed a new model which takes a middle ground between traditional and discursive approaches. This model will also be discussed in this section.

### 2.3.1. Culpeper's Models of Impoliteness

Drawing on Brown and Levinson's notion, Culpeper (1996: 356) proposes five strategies through which impoliteness might be expressed. They are:

1 -*Bald on record impoliteness*: in this case, the speaker performs the FTA explicitly and directly in situations where face is involved and related.

2 -*Positive impoliteness*: such a strategy is used to damage the target's positive face.

3 -*Negative impoliteness*: this strategy is used to damage the target's negative face.

4 -*Sarcasm or mock politeness*: using politeness strategies that lack of sincerity. That is, on the surface, it seems to be positive and supportive, but in fact, it is intended to damage the addressee's face.

5 -*Withhold politeness*: the lack of polite behaviour in the situations where it would be required.

In his later work, Culpeper (2005) revised his earlier proposition suggesting a new super-strategy, which he labelled 'off-record impoliteness' where "the FTA is performed by means of an implicature but in such a way that one attributable intention clearly outweighs any others" (2005: 44). However, in his more recent work, Culpeper (2011) seems to have abandoned these strategies to suggest a more sophisticated impoliteness framework. In his 2011 model, he makes a distinction between two main formulae of impoliteness: conventionalised formulaic impoliteness, which focuses on explicit linguistic formulae of impoliteness; and non-conventionalized impoliteness, which deals with implied and ambiguous impolite behaviour. Culpeper views conventionalised impoliteness formulae as "a form of language in which context-specific impoliteness effects are conventionalised" (2011: 153). He suggests that the exacerbation of causing offence can be achieved through two ways: the first is through message intensity which plays a crucial role in determining how offensive impoliteness is perceived to be. This includes "the use of words which are strongly



negatively affective, including taboo words, and/or modifiers, some of which can also be strongly negatively affective *per se*.” (2011: 154). However, Culpeper states that within the context of close friends, offensive words can be used positively. Thus, taboo words are not always associated with impoliteness. Culpeper claims to distinguish between mock impoliteness (or banter) and genuine impoliteness; the former, in certain contexts, are not seen as intended as impolite. The other strategy that can intensify the degree of offence is through non-verbal behaviours, such as frowning and pointing, spitting, leering, turning one’s back on someone and so on. However, Culpeper argues that such aspects are not impolite in themselves; as “it is not simply the presence of these non-verbal cues that communicates ‘greater rudeness’, (2011: 169). Rather, it is the way that these non-verbal cues match, or sometimes mismatch, verbal impoliteness cues that triggers greater offence.

Culpeper (2011) also takes into account arguments for the idea that impoliteness is inherent in linguistic expressions (which is claimed by the traditional politeness approaches, such as Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1978). He argues that it is not the case that the majority of (im)politeness theorists support this position. Discursive scholars, (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2011) for example, argue against (im)politeness being wholly inherent in linguistic expressions. They instead focus on “the dynamic and situated characteristic” of (im)politeness (Culpeper, 2011: 122). He argues that, for impoliteness, the interpretation can be blocked by an unsuitable contextual relation. For example, some expressions which are considered to be polite in English, such as ‘thank you’ or ‘please’, can be inferred to be sarcastic in certain contexts. That is, “the usual standardised inferencing leading to politeness (the conventionalised meaning) is blocked, but other pragmatic meanings (sarcasm) are derivable in context” (2011: 127). Hence, he takes a middle ground between the traditional and discursive approaches and suggests that (im)politeness is partly inherent in linguistic

expressions.<sup>39</sup> Because of his arguing against (im)politeness being wholly inherent in linguistic expressions, Culpeper proposes that impoliteness behaviours are not restricted to conventionalised impoliteness formulae. Rather, there are other ways in which they can be triggered. He suggests that in certain situations which do not involve conventional impoliteness formulae, participants still interpret what is said or done in specific contexts as impolite. Culpeper labels this kind as ‘implicational impoliteness’ which “derive[s] from analyses of how impoliteness [is] implied/inferred” in interactions (2011: 155). This type of impoliteness, which is primarily triggered through indirectness,<sup>40</sup> is classified by Culpeper into three main groups (which will be fully discussed in Chapter 4): Form-driven, Convention-driven and Context-driven and involves important issues which can usefully contribute to the discussion of this study.<sup>41</sup> However, Culpeper’s approach also suffers from some shortcomings, as will be discussed in the following section.

#### **2.3.1.1. Limitations of Culpeper’s Model of Impoliteness**

Culpeper’s (2011) work explains various aspects of impoliteness phenomena, as it provides an invaluable insight into assessing how participants may evaluate impolite behaviour in social interactions. However, Culpeper seems to describe impoliteness at a universal level, (although he does not make this claim explicitly). For example, Culpeper (2011) points out that “parents are licensed to use more direct language to their children than the reverse. But clearly there are limits to what is considered acceptable” (2011: 225). In this sense, Culpeper

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<sup>39</sup>For example, Culpeper (2005: 41) argues that “some linguistic items are very heavily biased towards an impolite interpretation (one has to work quite hard to imagine contexts in which “you fucking cunt” would not be considered impolite)”. However, such impolite contexts, as I mentioned above, can be constructed among close friends in order to show camaraderie towards each other.

<sup>40</sup>The relationship between indirectness and impoliteness will be fully discussed in Chapters 4, 6 and 7.

<sup>41</sup>These issues will be raised in Chapters 4 and 7.

seems to imply that direct language is always impolite, which is not always the case in all contexts and in all cultures (as I will show in 4.4.1). For example, in Arab culture, children using direct language (e.g. making requests) to their parents are not evaluated as impolite in certain contexts (as I will show in chapter 7). Furthermore, the limits on what is considered acceptable that Culpeper refers to, concerning the relationship between parents and their children, varies from one society to another. Thus, these limits are not restricted to specific acts that can be applied cross-culturally. For example, while in British culture parents can use “direct requests and threats to their children” (Culpeper, 2011: 199), in Libyan culture, in general, these limits can be broadened to include harsh criticism or even insults by using offensive words. It is generally not considered impolite for parents to use these forms to their children but, of course, very impolite for children to use them to their parents. So, it is not the case that all cultures share the same features of impoliteness.

Another problem with Culpeper’s model is his adoption of the Gricean Cooperative Principles as a foundation for his explanation of the implicational impoliteness phenomenon, ignoring the debate surrounding the validity of using these principles for such types of analysis. For example, Garcés-Conejos, (2010: 545) argues that “one of the problems with Grice’s model, as Relevance Theory points out, is that it cannot account for why the hearer will select one among the possible implicata conveyed by an implication and disregard the rest” so, as such, “it cannot account for why among the different possible implicata a given hearer will select the one that conveys impoliteness where other (non-impolite) interpretations might have been possible” (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 545). Relevance Theory, however, has not left this question without attempting to provide an explanation of how the interpretations are arrived at by individuals to enable them to choose a certain interpretation over others. Sperber and Wilson (1986) argue, as I mentioned above, that ‘input’ is the

element that enables an individual to interpret the precise predictions and conclusions if this input is relevant to their background information. Thus, people should share similar background knowledge in order to conclude the required inference. However, the degree of ambiguity may vary from one context to another. Thus, in my view, there is no guarantee that the hearer will interpret the 'right' inference in all cases. Thus, misunderstanding and misinterpretation might be triggered in some of these situations.

However, Culpeper is not the first to argue for the adoption of the Gricean approach to the analysis of impoliteness; Bousfield (2008) also uses this model as a framework for the impoliteness phenomenon, as I will show in the following section.

### **2.3.2. Bousfield's Model of Impoliteness**

The main aim of Bousfield's (2008) work is to show that impoliteness is a less marginal phenomenon than has been assumed by several politeness theories (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983). Bousfield states that the main problem with such traditional politeness theories is that they assume that speakers always try to be polite in every situation. In other words, they suppose that politeness is the norm and impoliteness a behaviour that is avoided. In contrast to this view, Bousfield perceives impoliteness as "ubiquitous across and within virtually all modes of human communication and can be quite-prevalent-to-centrally-important in many discourses" (2008: 51). Thus, for him, impoliteness should not be treated as marginal.

Bousfield rejects Relevance Theory on the ground that he considers it incoherent and it overlooks the role of the speaker. For him, it is less appropriate than Grice's Cooperative Principles, which he views as the best way of accounting for impolite utterances. In

Bousfield's words, "the [relevance] theory over-privileges the recipient/receiver (hearer) at the expense of the originator (speaker) of any 'im/polite' utterance" (2008: 32). However, his rejection of Relevance Theory in favour of the Gricean Principles is not justified, as Garcés-Conejos (2010) notes, because a Gricean model is inadequate to use as a basis to account for the impoliteness phenomenon for the reasons mentioned above.

In order to distinguish impoliteness from other types of linguistic offensive behaviour (such as the difference between impoliteness and offence-taking), Bousfield (2008) discusses acts which may constitute damage to face. Bousfield proposes a categorisation which includes the following offensive acts:

- 1- The speaker's utterance is intended to cause insult to the hearer and the hearer interprets the speaker's utterance as being intentionally face damage. Thus, the attempt at impoliteness succeeds.
- 2- The attempt at impoliteness fails when the hearer fails to perceive the speaker's intention to damage face.
- 3- Accidental face-damage is caused when the speaker does not intend to cause insult to the hearer but the latter misunderstands the former's intention and perceives his/her utterance as intentional face-damage.
- 4- Incidental or accidental face-damage is produced when the speaker does not intend to damage the hearer's face and the hearer understands the speaker's intention and perceives his/her utterance as unintentional face-damage (Bousfield, 2008: 72).

Bousfield's categorization is useful, albeit problematic, for a number of reasons. For example, in the incidental offensive acts of his categorization (No. 4 above), he fails to clarify whether this type can still be seen as impolite despite the absence of an impolite intention.

Furthermore, whereas some utterances are misinterpreted as impolite, as Bousfield (2008) mentions in his above categorisation, there are other offensive utterances which are intentionally used by a certain group of people (such as close friends) in order to show their camaraderie towards each other (Mills, 2003; Culpeper, 2011). Thus, the factors that lead the participants to regard certain utterances as offensive should be taken into consideration in such a categorization. For example, Mills (2003) suggests that impoliteness is influenced by factors that affect the assessment of whether a particular utterance or behaviour is impolite, such as: cross-cultural differences, mismatched expectations, and the degree of the familiarity of the interactants. Thus, “judgements about politeness or impoliteness/rudeness are not always automatic” (Terkourafi, 2008: 45), but may be reached following evaluation and interpretation of the context as a whole.

Bousfield also suggests that a framework for impoliteness is required in order to account for such phenomena. Therefore, he suggests a model which deals with ‘genuine’ or ‘sincere’ impoliteness (intentional face-threat/damage) as opposed to failed politeness which is defined as “too little or too much politeness work in a particular context” (Bousfield, 2008: 73). Bousfield argues that “the positive/negative face distinction is simply superfluous” (2008: 137); thus, he modifies and reformulates Culpeper’s (2005) model to include the following two tactics, rather than strategies:

- 1- On record impoliteness: This strategy is used to explicitly damage the interactant’s face; to form the interactant’s face in a discordant or conflictive way; or to “deny the expected face wants, needs, or rights of the interactant, or some combination thereof” (Bousfield, 2008: 95).
- 2- Off record impoliteness: The use of strategies designed to attack or damage the face of an interactant implicitly. Under this heading come Sarcasm and Withholding of Politeness.

- a- Sarcasm constitutes the use of utterance that “appears, on the surface, to positively constitute, maintain or enhance the face of the intended recipient(s) actually threatens, attacks, and/or damages the face of the recipient(s)” (Bousfield, 2008: 95).
- b- Withhold politeness “where politeness would appear to be expected or mandatory” (Bousfield, 2008: 95).

However, Garcés-Conejos (2010) has identified some problems with Bousfield’s model and has shown that it cannot be an adequate formulation to account for impoliteness phenomena; as it “does not seem to provide a useful analytical tool or help render robust distinctions in the classification of the data” (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 544). Garcés-Conejos (2010) argues that Bousfield simply discusses the differences between explicit and implicit conveyed meanings as if they were unproblematic, when the distinction between the degree of explicitness is highly context-dependent and the relationship among the interactants. Bousfield himself notes that participants tend to use a combination of off/on-record impoliteness strategies, rather than a single strategy, in order to increase the degree of offence. He states that “it is exceptionally hard to identify, in context, an impolite utterance which operates as, and only as, a single impoliteness strategy” (Bousfield, 2008: 155). In addition, Garcés-Conejos raises the question of how we can be certain that the addressees will assess on/off-record tactics in a different way, especially if they “seem to orient similarly to both on/off-record instances of impoliteness” in interactions (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 545). Therefore, the distinction between on- and off-record tactics “only presents itself as a remnant of Brown and Levinson’s speaker-based taxonomy” (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 545). Bousfield’s (2008) model, thus, is still inspired by Anglo-centric models. In fact, most of the extant work on impoliteness focuses on English so, as a consequence, has a Western orientation (Garcés-Conejos, 2010: 236).

However, some (im)politeness researchers, as I mentioned earlier, are well aware of cultural and linguistic differences when theorizing about (im)politeness. For example, discursive approach theorists (such as Eelen; 2001, Mills, 2003, 2011; Kadar and Mills, 2011; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011) advocate the abandonment of any predictive theories that are claimed to be applied cross-culturally, because “cultures are not homogeneous and...within each culture there are different views on what constitutes polite and impolite behaviour” (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 21). Therefore, the discursive approach argues against evaluating behaviour (polite or impolite) according to linguistic forms, and it focuses more on contexts and the speakers’ assessments of (im)politeness than on utterances themselves, as is the case with the traditional theories, as I discuss in the following section.

## **2.4. Discursive Approaches to (Im)politeness**

### **2.4.1. Beyond a Traditional View of (Im)politeness**

Despite the extensive criticism of the traditional theories, as Terkourafi (2005) points out, the attempts to deal with their shortcomings were restricted to modifying some aspects of their models to include additional rules or principles, but not to move away from their basic assumptions. However, in recent years, a new generation of (im)politeness research has created a paradigm shift towards more complex (im)politeness theorizing, (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; and Watts, 2003; Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011). This approach, as I mentioned above, has mainly been established in reaction to a number of different problems with traditional politeness theories. Eelen (2001), for example, argues that the majority of the politeness theories are biased “towards the polite side of the polite-impolite distinction, towards the speaker in the interactional dyad and towards the production of behaviour rather than its evaluation” (Eelen, 2001: 119). Therefore, Eelen proposes that a more complex and dynamic model of (im)politeness, which takes contextual and situational



factors into consideration and sees the participants' evaluation of the situations as fundamental to the (im)politeness analysis process, is needed.

Eelen's model inspired the emergence of the discursive politeness approaches which aim to go beyond the traditional theories, notably that of Brown and Levinson (1987), due to the problems associated with their work. For example, Mills (2003, 2011) points out that Brown and Levinson's approach perceives the communication amongst participants as perfect (i.e. people are always cooperative) and, thus, misunderstandings cannot arise. Brown and Levinson's model relies on the notion that people generally support their interlocutors during interactions rather than attacking them, but this is not always the case. Furthermore, Brown and Levinson's politeness analysis relies on quantifying a certain politeness element in specific data where it is assumed that a simple relationship exists between linguistic forms and their functions (Grainger et al, 2015). However, this type of analysis is problematic because, as Mills (2011) explains, it cannot help us to make assertions about the usage of that element in all utterances,<sup>42</sup> because "no linguistic expression can be taken to be inherently polite" or impolite (Locher and Watts, 2005: 16). Thus, politeness formulae, according to the discursive theories' perspective, "are viewed, judged and used differently by different groups in different contexts" (Mills, 2011: 29).

This approach also focuses on the interlocutors' evaluation of what they conceive to be polite or impolite. Locher and Watts (2005: 16), for example, point out that they "consider it important to take native speaker assessments of politeness seriously and to make them the

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<sup>42</sup>For example, Mills (2011) argues that some utterances which have the form of apologies sometimes do not function as an apology (e.g. they might involve irony or sarcasm). However, this would be counted as an apology according to the traditional models. Furthermore, participants can perform speech acts without using linguistic features (such as 'I'm sorry'), but that would not be considered in the analysis process.

basis of a discursive .... approach to politeness”. However, the individuals are not necessarily responsible for such evaluations; rather, these judgements “are the product of negotiations within communities of practice and wider groups” (Grainger et al., 2015: 46). Thus, a discursive approach aims to move away from the stereotypical judgments of what counts as polite or impolite towards investigating linguistic ideologies that lead individuals to make such judgements (Grainger et al., 2015).

Another major criticism of Brown and Levinson’s approach, as I mentioned earlier, has been their claim for the universality of their model of politeness, which is based on face mitigation, whereas politeness is expressed differently across cultures. Thus, there is no one culture more polite than others and all cultures are equally polite (Sifianou, 1992). According to Mills (2011), many discursive theorists are doubtful about generalisations and more concerned with contextual analysis. However, there are two contrasting views in terms of generalisations about politeness: one view argues that “what is appropriate cannot be predicted universally and must be addressed at the local level” (Locher, 2006: 253). Locher and Watts (2005) also argue for the abandonment of the notion of the universality of politeness altogether. They “therefore see little point in maintaining a universal theoretical notion of politeness” (Locher and Watts, 2005: 16). The other view (e.g. Mills, 2011) believes that it is still possible to generalize about tendencies of politeness in language groups if we take into consideration the “other styles and norms which are perhaps not dominant in the language” (Mills, 2011: 49). Thus, “it is possible to talk about politeness and impoliteness in a universalistic way” if we consider the different meanings of these terms within different

societies, and the nature of politeness norms within and across cultures (Mills, 2011: 26).<sup>43</sup>

Accordingly, the discursive approaches have developed different methodologies, as will be discussed in the following section.

#### **2.4.2. Discursive Approach Methodology.**

The discursive politeness approach has developed methodologies which distinguish it from the other earlier frameworks (e.g. Brown and Levinson's, 1987). Since politeness and impoliteness "are not achieved within individual utterances but are built up over stretches of talk" (Mills, 2011: 47), the discursive approaches have moved away from analysing single and invented examples (as in the case with the traditional theories) towards analysing language at the discursive level. Therefore, they tend to analyse extended speech which are primarily based on real data in order to investigate how politeness is evaluated over time. However, it is difficult to generalize about the theoretical perspectives of theorists who adopt discursive approaches although, at least, they share the view that it is impossible to develop a universalistic model to replace that of Brown and Levinson, since that may lead to generalisations about politeness norms, and thus inherit the same common weaknesses of the traditional models (Mills, 2011). Rather, a discursive approach "is concerned to develop forms of analysis which can capture the complexity of the way linguistic ideologies of appropriate behaviour and politeness are drawn on and evaluated in interaction" (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Therefore, discursive approaches do not aim to substitute the discursive approach for Brown and Levinson's model. As Watts (2005) puts it:

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<sup>43</sup>It should be noted that, despite her argument for the possibility of making generalizations about politeness tendencies within language groups, Mills insists that we should not ignore the variability within and across cultures, and thus we cannot simply characterise cultures and societies as homogeneous and static.

A shift in emphasis away from the attempt to construct a model of politeness which can be used to predict when polite behaviour can be expected or to explain post-factum why it has been produced and towards the need to pay closer attention to how participants in social interaction perceive politeness (Watts, 2005; cited in Haugh, 2007: 296).

Thus, it can be concluded that the main claim of this model is that meaning should be perceived as fluid and relative to socio-cultural contexts between interactants rather than being seen as static (as in the case of Gricean approach). Thus, discursive theorists of (im)politeness share common elements, despite their diversity. Mills (2011) describes these elements as follows: “firstly, discursive theorists share a view of what constitutes politeness; secondly, discursive theorists try to describe the relation between individuals and society in relation to the analysis of politeness; thirdly, discursive theorists tend to use a similar form of analysis” (2011: 35). According to Mills (2011), these elements are tendencies rather than rules, and the discursive approach’s theorists may focus on one aspect more than others.<sup>44</sup>

However, it should be noted that not all discursive theorists completely reject Grice’s model; some of them (e.g. Culpeper, 2011; Grainger 2011, 2013) seek to modify their analytical framework and retain some elements of their approach. For example, the range of data that has been analysed by Grainger (2011) has enabled her, as she claims, to conclude that the notion of politeness in Brown and Levinson’s model remains useful to the analysis of verbal forms. That is, “[i]t is not only possible, but desirable, to analyse naturally occurring interaction for the linguistic management of face and social relations without necessarily having recourse to participants evaluations of ‘polite’ behaviour” (Grainger, 2011: 84). In contrast to this view, several discursive theorists (Mills, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011; Locher

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<sup>44</sup> It should be noted however that discursive theorists do not agree on a definition of politeness, nor do they necessarily use the same type of analysis.

and Watts, 2005; Locher, 2006) argue for the abandonment of the pursuit of any predictive theory of politeness. Watts (2005), for example, argues for “giving up the idea of a Theory of Politeness altogether” (Watts 2005; cited in Haugh, 2007: 297) and advocating the focus only on the assessments made by participants through interactions, or paying less attention to the notion of ‘politeness’ itself and focusing more on broader types of what Locher and Watts (2005) label ‘relational work’.

Despite his emphasis on the importance of the participants’ judgements in the analysis process, Arundale (2006, 2010) argues for the possibility of outlining a theoretical framework which itself is framed from the participants’ perspectives.<sup>45</sup> Face Constituting Theory (FCT), he claims,<sup>46</sup> provides a more productive framework for conducting pragmatic research through what he terms ‘the Conjoint Co-Constituting Model of Communication’ (Arundale, 2010). Within this framework, Arundale (2010) argues, the interpretation that is projected by the speaker is provisional at the moment the utterance is produced until evidence for the operative interpretation, which is provided by subsequent utterances, is established or can be modified (or, to use Arundale’s (2010) term, ‘repaired’) to reach the intended meaning. This theory focuses on “finding the meaning that is negotiated and constructed in the social space between the participants and which is observable in the construction and sequencing of linguistic messages” (Grainger, 2013: 30). The discursive approach analysts focus on the importance of the evaluation of the participants in the analysis process. Therefore, we need to discuss the distinction between politeness 1 and politeness 2. But before investigating this

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<sup>45</sup>Haugh (2007) argues that, although Arundale does not provide explicit details about how (im)politeness might be treated within Face Constituting Theory, it can provide a strong base for the analysis of (im)politeness phenomena on the ground that it “focuses on the perceptions and understandings of participants, yet retains a well-defined role for the analyst” (Haugh, 2007: 310).

<sup>46</sup>Face Constituting Theory “explains face threat as a participant-specific evaluation of the face meanings and actions conjointly co-constituted in the moment (Arundale, 2006: 209)

distinction, in the following section I discuss some terms which are concerned with the analysis of (im)politeness and related to the discursive approach.

#### **2.4.2.1. Routines, Conventions and Rituals**

The social norms of linguistic groups, then, can be said to be built up over time through sharing what is seen as appropriate to the individuals in a certain group. Routines, conventions and rituals are the main elements that constitute these norms in different communities. Although a clear-cut distinction cannot be drawn between these three factors (Coulmas, 1981), there have been some efforts to define and explain these notions and show how they motivate interactions over time. For example, Coulmas (1981: 4) defines conversational routines as “tacit agreements, which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member” and usually employ in order to communicate to others. Therefore, they “have a special status in the language” because of their frequent use by interactants in a certain social community (Coulmas, 1981: 5). For Coulmas, these routines are produced through using similar expressions in recurrent situations (such as making requests, expressing gratitude, offering apologies and so on). Accordingly, certain standardised interactional situations where the members of a given society communicate in a certain way are created (e.g. a greeting followed by a greeting), and negotiation is not required. Thus “whenever repetition leads to automatization, we could call a performance a routine” (Coulmas, 1981: 3). Such frequent repetition of the routine use of certain expressions (e.g. ‘see you’, ‘thanks’, ‘take care’, and so on), Coulmas argues, may have a negative effect on their meaningfulness, but they do not necessarily lose their content

altogether.<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that the frequency of occurrence of certain routines can turn into idioms, due to the erosion of their literal meanings.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, in order to interpret the meaning of such routines, we must focus on their interactive function rather than their literal meaning.<sup>49</sup>

Conventions can also be established through “a regularity in the behaviour of members of a community...on the expectation that others will conform to the pattern” (Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 199). Referring to Lewis’ (1969) description of conventions, Griffin and Mehan (1981), point out that the first important stage in establishing a convention is negotiation. After establishing certain patterns of behaviour, they gradually become automatized and routinized. “Once a convention is established, then people conduct a course of action automatically, without need for negotiation. It is at such times, Goffman (1967) would say, that a ritual has been established” (Griffin and Mehan, 1981: 199). For example, Griffin and Mehan point out that classroom behaviour seems to conform to the view of automatic convention: teachers usually spend the first few weeks establishing certain patterns of behaviour (e.g. correcting mistakes, explaining the rules, and so on), then the teachers and students seem to perform the learning conventions far more smoothly as the year progresses.

Although rituals also contain a series of regular repeated actions, they seem to involve some emotional aspects that are significant for social relations. Durkheim (2001[1912]), for example, perceives rituals as a means by which mutual emotive actions are

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<sup>47</sup>See 6.2.1 for some examples.

<sup>48</sup>As I will show in 6.3.1.

<sup>49</sup>It should be noted that even some non-idiomatized expressions can be confusing, so the interactants need to be familiar with such routines in order to interpret their functions. See 6.3.1. for further explanation.

generated and affirmed by a community in order to organise people's life.<sup>50</sup> Bax and Kadar (2013) also hold the view that rituals include patterns of behaviour that are formalised or even stereotyped to serve emotive and relational purposes but, in contrast to the view that behaviour cannot be counted a ritual unless it is recognised by large social-groups within a certain society (if not by the whole of a society), Kadar and Bax argue that rituals can be established within smaller social communities (e.g. in-group rituals). However, Muir (2005) argues that ritual loses most of its effectiveness, particularly in modern societies, to become "mere ritual" (Muir, 2005 cited in Kadar and Bax, 2013: 75). The deterioration of the impact of ritual, according to Kadar and Bax (2013), is attributable to many factors (such as globalisation, modernisation, the decline in religious belief, and so on) which have brought significant changes to communicative behaviour.<sup>51</sup>

Routines, conventions and rituals are all established through the frequent repetition of certain behaviour. Therefore, as I mentioned above, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between them. However, they seem to differ in the sense that, while it is necessary for routines to be shared and agreed on by substantial groupings within a society, conventions and rituals can be established within relatively smaller groups (e.g. classroom students, in-group members). Furthermore, whereas routines do not necessarily involve emotions,<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> However, Rothenbuhler (1998) argues that some conventions (and consequently some rituals) can be *empty*, since they might not involve any emotions (e.g. church attendance by people with no faith). In such cases, "the participants do not really care about the events as much as their participation appears to indicate" (Rothenbuhler, 1998: 31).

<sup>51</sup> Of course, religious faith is not declining everywhere; in some countries, such as some Arab countries, religion seems to dominate social life while, in Africa, Christianity is growing.

<sup>52</sup> This is not to say that routines do not include any emotional effects at all. In fact, some actions, which might be regarded as routines (such as expressing gratitude or offering an apology), need to be appear sincere, even if they are not in some cases, in order to be accepted by the hearer as real.



rituals appear to be seen as phenomena that include emotive significance.<sup>53</sup> However, Agha (2007) argues that any regular acts within a social community should not be treated as static. For him, users who are familiar with what he labels 'semiotic regularity', which is the process that occurs when a specific sign-form (X) stands for a certain meaning (Y), are regarded as the 'social domain' of the regularity which changes over time, because:

Every cultural phenomenon has a social domain at any moment of its history, susceptible to dialectical variation (and sometimes also 'dialectal' variation) through processes of communicative transmission that expand or narrow its scale. Talk of variation in 'scale' in this sense is talk of changes in the social domain of cultural formations through semiotic activity itself. When a cultural construct has a recognizable reality only for a sub-group within a society, processes of communicative transmission can readily bring the construct to the attention of other members of society making it more widely known and thus presupposable in use by larger segments of the population (Agha, 2007: 78).

That is to say that the social norms of a certain group (e.g. elites) within a culture are usually generalised to the whole culture.<sup>54</sup> For example, Agha shows that some performatives which are used by Illongot speakers in the Philippines differ from those used within the 'social domain' of English speakers. For example, direct performatives (such as 'I order you') might be seen as inappropriate in English, unless there is a clear difference between the interlocutor in social status, whereas in Illongot, the use of such performatives is acceptable (or even appropriate), especially in family settings. This style of speech seems to be evaluated positively in many other social and cultural groups, which have a tendency to view direct forms as a norm for making requests. These direct forms may attract such positive

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<sup>53</sup> Some events, (such as the death of a relative or the wedding of a close friend) supposedly (if not necessarily) provoke emotions of pain or joy (Durkheim (2001[1912])).

<sup>54</sup> More discussion about the problems of making generalisations is provided in Chapters 2 and 3.

evaluations because they are associated with closeness among individuals in such communities.<sup>55</sup>

#### 2.4.2.2. Linguistic Ideologies

Linguistic ideologies can be defined as “sets of interested positions about language that present themselves as forms of common sense, that rationalize and justify the forms and functions of text and talk” (Hill, 2008: 34). According to Hill (2008: 34), common sense has a special status “because it defines a group of people whose interests are advanced by believing in it, and not because it is necessarily true or even likely”. Therefore, as Grainger et al. (2015) argue, some ideological beliefs are presented as if true and well-known by everyone in society (e.g. beliefs about British politeness being linked to indirect forms of speech). In such cases, according to Grainger et al. (2015), linguistic ideologies represent the difference between how people feel about the correct way they and others should speak and the way they actually speak. Thus, “[i]t is that elision between *should* and *are* which is important, because linguistic ideologies present this hypothesised state as the way the world self-evidently is” (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Therefore, how people feel they should speak or behave does not necessarily reflect what they say or do in reality.

One concept that has particular relevance to the discussion of ideologies and is extensively discussed by Agha (2007) is registers of speech and the way in which these are identified and linked to certain social practices. By register, Agha means “everything to do with the way in which behavioural signs ..... acquire recognizable pragmatic values that

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<sup>55</sup>As I show in Chapter 4.

come to be viewed as perduring ‘social facts’ about signs, and which, by virtue of such recognition, become effective ways of indexing roles and relationships among sign-users in performance” (Agha, 2007 :80). The users of a particular register, according to Agha, are constantly changing over time. Thus, the new users of a given register should be aware of the different forms and values of that register in order to be, more or less, continued. Despite the fact that the users of a certain register can be acquainted with its linguistic features, Agha suggests, not all users of a particular register possess the same level of competence in using it. Furthermore, many speakers of a given language have the ability to recognize some of its registers but may not fully use or understand it (e.g. registers of scientific discourse). Therefore, “[t]he existence of registers .... results in the creation of social boundaries within society, partitioning off language users into groups distinguished by differential access to particular registers and the social practices they mediate and by asymmetries of power, privilege, and rank that depend on access to such registers and practices” (Agha, 2007: 157). However, contrasting register models among different social groups that are connected to each other through interactional processes usually demonstrates something about these social processes. For example, drawing on Sami Alrabaa’s (1985) study of Egyptian Arabic, Agha shows that different ideologies can motivate a mismatch between register and class: upper-class Egyptian youths claim to use the solidarity-informal forms of Arabic (e.g. *inta/inti* ‘you (m./f.)’, which they believe lower-class speakers use, and lower-class speakers claim to use the more polite forms (e.g. *hadritak/hadritik* ‘you (m./f.) polite’, which they perceive as being used by the upper/middle class. Thus, each class describes themselves as using the form associated with the other as their own. The reason for this, as Agha (2007) argues, is that the upper-class youths claim to use the form that reflects the system of the people, “thus professing an egalitarian impulse” (Agha, 2007: 175), while the lower-class youths claim to use the one that reflects middle-class norms, “thus exhibiting a more stratificational

ideology” (Agha, 2007: 175). As such, each group is motivated to reflect a certain value within society in order to be seen as accepted and valued.

Hill (2008) draws a distinction between three types of linguistic ideology: 1- explicit; 2- implicit, which includes the personalism and referentialism ideologies;<sup>56</sup> and 3- performative. Let us consider the personalism and performative ideologies. The ideology of personalism “holds that the most important part of linguistic meaning comes from the beliefs and intentions of the speaker” (Hill, 2008: 38). In this case, it is the speaker who is judged by focusing on his/her intention, rather than the speech itself. This ideology is relevant for the present research, particularly with regard to the case of indirect speech, because it focuses on the potential speaker’s intentions, which are often implicit, particularly in indirect forms. The performative ideology “makes it possible to understand some words as assaultive, rather than true or false” (Hill, 2008: 40). This ideology, thus, is more about how words make people feel than about truth or falseness. This ideology also shows how people can use language, or certain forms of speech, to wound or offend others, as we will see in chapter 7.

Linguistic ideologies, thus, are beliefs about language which people believe are true and beyond controversy. People deal with these ideologies as normal facts which they feel reflect real life. In this study, however, I differentiate between what appears to the participants as a ‘common sense’ and what actual behaviour they perform.

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<sup>56</sup>The explicit and referentialism ideologies will not be discussed here because they go beyond the scope of this research. The explicit linguistic ideology or the ideology of the Standard which forms part of it is the belief that ‘double negatives’ in English are seen not only as incorrect, but also illogical. Thus people who “cannot see this illogic, they are probably unintelligent” (Hills, 2008: 36). The referentialist ideology asserts that “words must be used properly”, so that it is incorporated by the ideology of the Standard “when it links correct use to correct beliefs” (Hills, 2008: 39).

#### 2.4.2.3. Indexicality

Ochs (1996) defines indexing as follows:

To index is to point to the presence of some entity in the immediate situation at hand. In language, an index is considered to be a linguistic form that performs this function. ... A linguistic index is usually a structure (e.g. sentential voice, emphatic stress, diminutive affix) that is used variably from one situation to another and becomes conventionally associated with particular situational dimensions such that when that structure is used the form invoked those situational dimensions (Ochs, 1996: 411).

Thus, indexicality is retrieved through contextual-based interpretations that are made by interlocutors (Hill, 2008). In contrast to the personalist ideology, which can be identified only through individual intentions, Hill (2008) argues, indexicality is “co-constructed in the communicative space shared by interlocutors, in the collaborative project that is required to “get” jokes, to share moods, to enjoy sociality itself” (Hill, 2008: 41). Hill (2008) argues that the identity of a person as “a speaker of X” or “an individual from Y” can be signalled through the language they use or the class to which they belong. An example provided by Hill to illustrate this point is that, while “Tucson” refers to the same city whether it is pronounced /tukson/ or /tuwsan/, “in saying /tukson/ the speaker signals her Chicana identity, a commitment to her right to speak this word in Spanish, and primordial claim to place and its resources” (Hill, 2008: 143). Thus, it is more about asserting identity than simply using a certain word. In other words, using /tukson/ is not simply claiming to be Chicana but is also making a claim about what a Chicana is.

Agha’s (2003: 233) work on enregisterment, discussed briefly above, also goes some way towards accounting for the way in which a certain accent “does not name a sound pattern alone, but a sound pattern linked to a framework of social identities. The social identity is recognized, indexically, as the identity of the speaker who produces the utterance in the

instance” (Agha, 2003: 233). Agha argues that a particular accent, Received Pronunciation, has come to obtain a certain status as a supra-local accent throughout the centuries in Britain, and is enregistered to index the positive qualities of the individuals using it (e.g. good breeding, well-educated, and so on). In other words, as Christie argues, social identity can be indirectly indexed through using certain linguistic variables (such as RP) which function “as a resource for the making of meaning” (Christie, 2013: 158). However, the meanings of such variables, as Eckert (2008) argues, are not static but, rather, fluid and possess various potential meanings that are generated within a changing ideological field, which she labels ‘the indexical field’. This is constructed through “the continual reconstrual of the indexical value of a variable” (Eckert, 2008: 464). She bases her notion of the indexical field on Silverstein’s (2003) work on the indexical order as follows:

The existence of register ... is an aspect of the dialectical process of indexical order, in which the  $n + 1$ -st-order indexicality depends on the existence of cultural schema of enregisterment of forms perceived to be involved in  $n$ -th order indexical meaningfulness; the forms as they are swept up in the  $n + 1$ -st-order valorisation become strongly presupposing indexes of that enregistered order (Silverstein, 2003: 193).

Eckert (2008) points out that “[a] first-order index simply indexes membership in a population – it designates people as Martha’s Vineyarders, Beijiners, Detroiters” (2008: 463). However, Eckert argues that evaluating a population is always associated with indexing certain aspects of the speaker’s character, through the use of a specific linguistic form which becomes “a second order index”, which “figures...as speakers position themselves with respect to the elements of character” (2008: 463). Such linguistic forms, as I mentioned above, can be reinterpreted and remade in a way that changes their indexical field, which “is fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections” (Eckert, 2008: 454). For example, Eckert points out that a specific variable can

create an ideological meaning that is used by individuals in different contexts in order to achieve certain goals; thus, this meaning cannot be “uniform across the population” (Eckert, 2008: 467). In other words, populations should not be seen as homogeneous, as such meanings merely indicate tendencies which are based on ideological beliefs.

The relevance of indexicality to the concerns of this thesis is that it contains the possibility “to address the range of meanings a resource might generate in a given culture at a given moment in time, without relying on assumptions about the shared ‘core’ meaning of the resource” (Christie, 2013: 168). For example, Christie (2013) points out that such an approach allows for some linguistic resources, such as strong swearwords, to be explained “in a more systematic way” (2013: 168), because their effects are conventionalised. Furthermore, as Eckert (2008) suggests, the indexical values of a certain variable form part of the ideological work of a given society. As such, it is not the meaning which is linked to a variable, but rather, “any meanings that are associated with variables will be based in highly salient ideological issues” (Eckert, 2008: 465). For example, directness, in general, is usually seen to index negative values in English (e.g. rudeness), while indirectness is seen to index positive ones, and is usually linked to politeness.<sup>57</sup> In this work, thus, I aim to show how directness can index positive values (e.g. social closeness) in certain cultures (such as Arabic ones), and how indirectness is seen to index negative values (e.g. impoliteness). I further aim to show that such indexical values, which are usually based on ideological assumptions, are fluid and contextual. For example, directness might be seen to index positive values (e.g.

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<sup>57</sup> However, directness can also index positive values in English, because it is associated with strength, efficiency and masculinity, as I show in section 6.3.5.

clarity and honesty) in English, while indirectness is sometimes seen to indicate negative values (e.g. manipulation and vagueness) in certain situations in English.

#### **2.4.3. Politeness 1 vs. Politeness 2**

The distinction between ‘first order’ and ‘second order’ is a controversial issue. Watts et al. (1992), for example, argue that first order politeness (politeness1) and second order politeness (politeness2) should be clearly distinguished. The former refers to the commonsense notion of politeness, which is “the various ways in which polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups”, whereas second order politeness is “a theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behavior and language usage” (Watts et al., 1992: 3). However, Eelen (2001) argues that a distinction between these two notions is less simple than might be assumed. Thus, during analysis, they should be carefully examined to avoid the potential confusion of these two notions. Eelen (2001) maintains that “politeness2 concepts should not just be different from politeness1 concepts, or given different names, but rather the relationship between both notions should be carefully monitored” (Eelen, 2001: 31). Such a view leads some scholars (such as Locher and Watts, 2005) to suggest that second order politeness should be excluded from the politeness research and that the focus should be only on the hearer’s evaluations and interpretations of what is polite and impolite in naturally-occurring interactions. However, Grainger (2011) suggests that first order politeness is closely related to second order politeness, and so the latter should not be excluded from the analysis. Such views have raised several questions related to whether the discursive approach can usefully inform politeness research, as I will discuss in the following section.



#### 2.4.4. Evaluating the Discursive Approach

Discursive approaches to politeness have attracted some criticism. For example, some researchers (Arundale, 2006; Haugh, 2007) argue that, like the Gricean model, discursive approaches adopt an encoding/decoding model of communication.<sup>58</sup> Discursive approach theorists are also argued to be unable to map out a theoretical framework for this model (Terkourafi, 2005). As a consequence, as Culpeper (2011) argues, the discursive approach gives the impression that meaning is unstable and communication is uncertain. Culpeper states that “this impression does not square with the intuitions we share with others in our communities about conventionalised meanings even out of context, nor with the evidence for a large amount of informational redundancy in multimodal communication – all of which points towards stability and certainty (though of course these can never be absolute)” (2011: 153). However, this can be attributed to the dynamic nature of this approach, which is better suited to the contextual and situational analysis, so it is difficult to form a framework without falling into the generalization trap, thus inheriting the same common weaknesses as the traditional models (as mentioned above).

The discursive approach is also criticised for privileging the hearer through focusing on their evaluations rather than on the speaker’s intention (Terkourafi, 2005; Grainger, 2013). Terkourafi (2005: 245) points out that “[p]ost-modern theories are...hearer oriented, in that

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<sup>58</sup>However, this claim is inadequate because, as mentioned above, there is a considerable difference between the two approaches: in the Gricean models, meaning which is “transmitted in a liner fashion from an idealised speaker...to an idealised hearer” (Grainger, 2013: 29) is seen as static and unchanging in all situations; whereas, in discursive approaches, it is perceived as fluid and dynamic according to the context, situation and familiarity among the participants.

they locate politeness in hearers' evaluations rather than speakers' intentions".<sup>59</sup> However, the main criticism that faces analysts within this type of model is that their role seems to be limited, as the key element in judging politeness is the evaluations of the participants. Thus, the role of the analyst seems to be marginal (Terkourafi, 2005; Haugh, 2007). Haugh (2007: 303), for example, questions "whether the postmodern emphasis on the understandings and perceptions of participants leaves the analyst with precious little to do". However, Mills (2011) argues that the role of the analyst is to "assess what as a whole the norms of appropriateness might be within a particular community and to suggest that perhaps certain utterances might be considered to be polite, but that does not guarantee that they are viewed in that way by participants" (2011: 46). Mullany (2011) also suggests that the analyst can play a role in the analysis process by using the participants' assessments and evaluations as a source, in addition to interactional data, in order to interpret the overall context. Thus, the analyst's role is not limited, but rather extended.

Despite the criticism, it is important to note that the discursive approach provides a useful framework for investigating different aspects of social interactions, particularly in cross-cultural contexts. For example, Kadar and Pan (2011) point out that the discursive approach is very useful in providing insights into (im)politeness behaviour; because "by accepting diversity and the potential appropriateness and acceptability of seemingly 'atypical' behaviour, rather than assuming that there are uniform rules of behaviour and hence

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<sup>59</sup> However, this claim is not exactly accurate. For example, due to the discursive approach's emphasis on analysing extended parts of speech, the interpretations can be established over several encounters where the roles of both speakers and hearers are swapped, so any participant can be a speaker at times and a hearer at other times during the interaction. As such, any evaluation of the first speaker's utterance by the second (or more) speaker (or vice versa) can be modified (as mentioned above) or confirmed through the interaction process depending on the speaker's intention which becomes clearer over the interactional turns. As such, it is not only how the utterance is assessed, but also what it is intended to mean. However, this is not to suggest that the speaker's intention is always easy to interpret because, in some cases, misunderstandings can be triggered.

excluding certain ways of behaviour from our analysis, we are able to explain some anomalies of...im/politeness” (2011, 128-29).

The discussion of this chapter has clearly addressed the research question of how adequate is a discursive theoretical approach to the analysis of (im)politeness. As I have shown in this chapter, it is clear that a new model of analysis is required. I have argued that the discursive approach to politeness and impoliteness captures the complexity and diversity of contextual judgements across cultures. In contrast to the traditional politeness approaches, where it is assumed that a simple relationship exists between linguistic forms and their functions, the discursive theoretical approach argues that utterances are judged and viewed differently by different interactants. It also moved towards analysing extended speech which is primarily based on real data, rather than single and invented examples, and takes cultural and ideological factors into consideration. Furthermore, rather than starting with the analyst’s evaluation of what constitutes (im)politeness, the discursive approach takes the interactants’ evaluation into consideration. In contrast to the traditional theories, which focus only on the speaker’s intention, this approach focuses on a more complex negotiation of interpretation of utterances amongst the participants. A combination of these different factors can capture the different interpretations and functions that (in)directness may have in both Arabic and English. Thus, the discursive approach is proven to be a valuable analytical framework for cross-cultural comparisons.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> A more detailed discussion of the applicability of discursive approaches cross-culturally will be provided in the Chapter 3.

## **2.5. The Theoretical Basis of the Study**

I have chosen to take a discursive perspective on polite behaviour as a theoretical base for this study, because (as discussed above), in contrast to the traditional approaches, which simply presuppose a universal theory of (im)politeness and then try to fit data to it, the discursive approach takes situational and contextual factors into consideration, and is well aware of the complexity and diversity of cultures, which are not homogeneous. Since this is an empirical study, dealing with cross-cultural pragmatics, it requires a sound theoretical basis that is well-formulated for cross-cultural comparison. Therefore, the discursive approach, in my view, provides a solid foundation for making such a comparison. Taking the above criticisms of the discursive approaches into consideration in the analysis process, in this study, no a priori predictive theory is applied when analysing the data; rather, it is the interactants' evaluations that drive the study. However, these evaluations are used as a base, in order to interpret the overall context of interactional data. I, thus, develop a form of analysis which can focus on the linguistic ideologies determining polite and impolite behaviour.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have reviewed the main approaches to politeness and impoliteness, particularly the traditional models, which were based on the Gricean model, on the one hand, and the discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness, on the other. The traditional theories of politeness (such as Brown and Levinson, 1987) have been heavily criticised for their bias towards a Western view of politeness and their claim about the universality of politeness. Therefore, they fail to provide a theoretical base for empirical studies. By examining these approaches, I have concluded that the discursive approach, despite the criticism it has attracted, is the most appropriate one for this study, because it is the only one

which takes into account the diversity and variability among and across cultures. For example, many theorists whose work has been influenced by the Grician model (e.g. Culpeper, 2011) admit that (im)polite behaviour can be contextual and situational rather than inherent. Thus, as the discursive approach takes the variability of language usage, and the different interpretation of linguistic forms, into account, it is the most applicable to the type of cross-cultural comparison which constitutes the focus of my work.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Culture and Politeness**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that politeness and impoliteness are influenced by culture; therefore, some aspects of culture (as I show below) related to my study will be discussed in this chapter, in order to develop a form of analysis which can account for politeness and impoliteness at a cultural level. I start the chapter by reviewing several definitions of culture in section 3.2. I then move on to consider the relationship between culture and identity in section 3.3. Following this, in section 3.4., I review and evaluate some of the proposed cultural classifications (e.g. collectivism/individualism and positive/negative politeness). Then, and due to the importance of intercultural studies which might help in explaining the different aspects of communicational styles of different cultures, intercultural misunderstandings will be the focus of section 3.5. In section 3.6., I present various studies from different cultures that have used a discursive perspective as an analytical framework. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a comparison of the general tendencies and stereotypes in relation to preference for politeness strategy choices in Libyan Arabic and British English in section 3.7.

#### **3.2. Definitions of Culture**

The concept of culture is very broad and can be seen to have a wide range of meanings. The majority of the available definitions, as Culpeper, (2011) argues, simply present culture as a set of characteristics and rules that are passed from one generation to another. For example, Fay (1996) views 'culture' as "a complex set of shared beliefs, values and concepts which enables a group to make sense of its life and which provides it with directions for how to live" (1996: 55). However, this view of culture, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 34) argue, can risk

portraying individuals as “passive recipients of cultural values and speech styles”. Thus, in contrast to this view, discursive approach theorists, (Mills and Kadar, 2011; Bargiela-Chiappini and Kadar, 2011) maintain that, although the set of norms that constitutes culture influences the participants’ strategy choices during interactions, these norms are not static or necessarily agreed upon. Thus, culture should be viewed as fluid and dynamic rather than static. Similarly, Holliday et al. (2004) view culture as “a fluid, creative social force which binds different groupings and aspects of behaviour in different ways, both constructing and constructed by people in a piecemeal fashion to produce myriad combinations and configuration” (2004: 3). Culpeper (2011) holds the same perspective. He points out that cultures should be seen as “multiple and constantly undergoing change, and people shift in and out of particular cultures” (2011: 12). However, Culpeper argues that norms can differ from one group of people (or one culture) to another, and thus (im)politeness can be perceived differently.

For Spencer-Oatey (2000), ‘culture’ can be defined in terms of the basic values and conventions that the members of a community are presumed to share. In Spencer-Oatey’s (2000: 4) words, culture can be viewed as “a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member’s behaviour and each member’s interpretations of the ‘meaning’ of other people’s behaviour”. Hofstede (1991), by contrast, describes culture as “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (1991: 5). However, ‘culture’, in the limited way defined by Hofstede, is problematic because “within ICC [intercultural communication] studies, it is generally assumed that things go wrong because two cultural groups behave differently, which makes

communication between them problematic” (Holliday et al., 2004: 62), which means that ‘culture’ is considered to be negative rather than positive.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be argued that ‘culture’ cannot simply be seen as fixed and stable. Thus, the concept of culture adopted in this work is defined within a discursive approach view, such as the definition suggested by Bargiela-Chiappini and Kadar (2011: 5) as being “a dynamic and complex set of values which become visible in interaction as they influence the interactants’ behaviour. Culture is also subject to ideological challenges and changes, therefore, it is in continuous flux”. However, it is not only ‘culture’ that has an impact on individuals’ behaviour; it is also the social and personal differences between them. As a result, identity and its relation to culture have been largely considered in pragmatics research, as I show in the following section.

### **3.3. Culture and Identity.**

It is only in recent years that researchers have shed light on the importance of the relationship between culture and identity (Holliday et al., 2004). Culpeper (2011: 13) attempts to clarify the notion of ‘identity’ which, in his view, is “connected with one’s sense of self”. The self can be perceived as a ‘self-schema’ which is defined from different points of view. One of these views suggests that self-schema comprise various selves, such as the selves that one would like or ought to be. Thus, “identities are selves enacted by behaviours in particular situations...However, it should not be thought that identities are solely determined by situations; they can be strategically enacted to determine situations” (Culpeper, 2011: 13).



Culpeper goes on to argue that identity is also associated with the notion of 'face'.<sup>61</sup> That is, "when you lose face you feel bad about how you are seen in other people's eyes" (2011: 13). Therefore, someone's feeling about her/his 'self' relies on others' feelings about this 'self'. Holliday et al. (2004) also emphasise the interrelationship between culture and identity. They suggest that, during interactions, interlocutors usually convey messages about how they want to be seen by others; that is, their cultural identity. According to Holliday et al., belonging to a particular group can be demonstrated by means of using certain discourses by insiders, in order to distinguish themselves from outsiders. For example, swearing can be understood as a form of greeting among the members of a particular cultural group (e.g. close friends), while it may be perceived as offensive by those who do not belong to this group (outsiders). However, Holliday et al. argue that, due to the complexity of culture, people have a variety of choices regarding their belongingness to multiple cultural groups, and thus may adopt various identities.

However, such views of identity are described from a 'conversational perspective', where identity is seen as cognitive, knowable, and absolute. As such, such views "investigate how people display identity, in terms of ascribed membership of social categories" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 69). That is to say, 'identity' is determined according to an individual's membership of a certain group, which is relatively static, while identity is more contextual and dynamic. Thus, in contrast to this view, identity, according to a 'social constructionist' perspective, for example, is not seen as absolute or static, but rather is treated as "a socially constructed category" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 9), where people's own understanding and performance of identity are examined, and where identity is produced in discourse (e.g. talk

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<sup>61</sup> I discuss face in Section 1.4.

and text) of all types. Thus, “rather than being *reflected* in discourse, identity is actively, ongoingly, dynamically *constituted* in discourse” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 4). It is not surprising, then, that this research, where the methodology used is in line with recent discursive approaches, takes a more social constructionist position where identity can be seen as more dynamic and interactive with discourse, as well as being influenced by culture.<sup>62</sup>

It is noteworthy that there are at least two different views regarding the connection between the notions of culture and identity. For example, Grimson (2010) views culture and identity as different aspects of social life, arguing that “while culture alludes to our routine of strongly sedimented practices, beliefs and meanings; identity refers to our feelings of belonging to a collective” (2010: 63). Therefore, he suggests that culture and identity should be analysed separately, assuming that each empirical study of each case can provide different answers, while the other view, which seems to be more adequate, and assumes that there is an inextricable relationship between culture and identity. Constantin and Rautz (2003), for instance, suggest that “culture creates identity” (2003: 189), as people feel related to those with whom they share the same common beliefs and ethnic background, which differentiate them from other cultural groups. Thus, “[c]ulture and identity are not just some abstract notions for them but ‘living’ concepts that are closely connected to people’s lives” (Constantin and Rautz: 2003: 190). However, Constantin and Rautz (2003) believe that individuals usually have multiple identities which might or might not have an influence on the differences between cultural groups. These identities vary from one individual to another and from one situation to another, and may change over time.

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<sup>62</sup>Thus, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, the evaluation of behaviour is determined by what is ideologically believed to be appropriate in a given social community. However, such judgements are also contextual and personal, and so may vary from one situation to another, or from one person to another

### **3.4. Cross-Cultural Differences:**

#### **3.4.1. Collectivist and Individualist Cultures**

Many scholars (Hofstede, 1991; Scollon and Scollon, 2005) argue for the existence of global dimensions of cross-cultural differences. Some of these dimensions indicate variability in the concept of the ‘group’ and the ‘individual’, and the dimension of individualism/collectivism is argued to be foremost in this respect.<sup>63</sup> Both terms have been defined by Hofstede (1991) as follows:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (1991: 51).

Thus, as mentioned before, the above definition of individualism and collectivism seems to be related to the distinction between the concept of the ‘group’ and the ‘individual’ within cultures. In collectivist cultures, “good relationships are important, and interpersonal reality is valued”, whereas in individualist ones, “independence and privacy are valued” (Fukushima, 2002: 121-22). For example, since English people “seem to place a higher value on privacy and individuality” (Sifianou, 1992: 41), English culture is usually categorized as an individualist culture. The Japanese, on the other hand, are argued to place low emphasis on distance and privacy. Thus, Japanese culture is usually classified as a collectivist culture (Fukushima, 2002).

The concept of the ‘group’ thus is suggested to be perceived differently in individualist and collectivist cultures. Triandis and Vassiliou (1972), for example, propose a

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<sup>63</sup> Triandis (2001: 907) argues that “[a]lmost 100 publications per year now use this dimension in discussing cultural differences”.

distinction between two different groups within cultures. These are: the 'in-group', which is defined "as one's family, relatives, friends, and friends of friends" (1972: 305), and the 'out-group', which consists of other people who are not included in the 'in-group'. Fukushima (2002) refers to Triandis et al. (1986), who explain how individualist and collectivist cultures perceive both groups differently. Fukushima describes these differences as follows:

While the boundary conditions between in-groups and out-groups are fairly diffused and loosely structured in individualistic cultures, the boundary conditions between in-groups and out-groups, and also between membership in various in-groups (e.g., kin, co-workers, neighbours), are more sharply defined and tightly structured in collectivistic cultures (Fukushima, 2002: 114).

In short, collectivist cultures are seen to entail a greater concern for group face, and individualism to involve more concern for individual face. Since there is a significant difference between individualistic and collectivist cultures in terms of group boundaries, this difference is argued to influence the styles of communication within each culture, as Scollon and Scollon (2005: 147) explain:

In an individualistic society, groups do not form with the same degree of permanence as they do in collectivist society. As a result, the ways of speaking to others are much more similar from situation to situation, since in each case the relationships are being negotiated and developed right within the situation of the discourse.

On the other hand, in a collectivist society, many relationships are established from one's birth into a particular family in a particular segment of society in a particular place. These memberships in particular groups tend to take on a permanent in-group character along with special forms of discourse which carefully preserve the boundaries between those who are inside members of the group and all others who are not members of the group.

However, such a classification is problematic, because the impression that such views gives is that individuals who are supposed to belong to individualistic cultures are 'selfish', care only about themselves and have very loose relationships, which, of course, is not the

case. Each culture might have a tendency for individualistic and collectivistic orientations to a greater or lesser extent. Thus, making such simplistic generalizations about cultures is inaccurate.

Another major linguistic characteristic that is usually linked to the collectivism/individualism distinction is indirectness (Holtgrave, 1997); that is, indirect expressions are argued to correlate with collectivist cultures. Triandis (1994), for example, explains the influence of these patterns on communication and the way in which people speak to each other in individualist and collectivist cultures as follows:

People in collectivist cultures pay more attention to context (emotional expressions, touching, distance between bodies, body orientation, level of voice, eye contact) when they communicate than do people from individualistic cultures (Gudykunst, 1983). The collectivist must keep relationships with in-group members at their best and looks at all the evidence to understand what is communicated. Thus collectivists are not as explicit, direct or clear as the individualists (Triandis, 1994; cited in Fukushima, 2002: 117).

That is to say, collectivist cultures adopt indirect orientations, whereas individualistic cultures are more direct. However, this view is problematic, as it assumes that, in order to maintain good relationships with others, people in collectivist cultures avoid directness, and are implicit and indirect at all times and under all circumstances, and this is clearly not the case. The way of speaking (directly or indirectly) can be related to many factors that influence the speaker's choice in a particular situation. For example, performing a direct request or offer in Arab culture (which is classified as collectivist), in general, does not threaten good relationships, because it is conventionalised to be performed in such a direct way, yet it is still seen as appropriate (as I show in Chapter 7). Furthermore, the impression that such views

gives is that individuals who belong to individualistic cultures do not care about maintaining good relationships with others.

Similar cross-cultural variation has been suggested by Hall (1976), whose view is based on the role that context plays in producing and interpreting utterances. Hall (1976) draws a distinction between high- vs. low-context cultures; he defines a high context communication or message as “one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message” (1976: 91). That is, as Holtgraves (1997) puts it, “in high-context cultures (e.g., Japan, Korea) people assume that utterances will be interpreted within a relevant context, and as a result, one's meaning can be conveyed implicitly. Thus, speakers tend to convey their meanings indirectly, and hearers tend to look for these indirect meanings” (Holtgraves, 1997: 625). In low-context communication, on the other hand, context is expected to include the information in an explicit way. That is, in low-context cultures (e.g. the United States, Germany), context is argued to play a smaller role in communication than it does in high-context cultures, and thus people tend to speak directly in such societies. It should be noted that all of the cultures classified as high context by Hall are normally classified as collectivist, and all of the low-context cultures are normally classified as individualist.

However, such cultural distinctions, which simply suggest the possibility of making generalisations about cultures, are problematic for a number of reasons. One problem is that some results obtained on the basis of the individualism/collectivism distinction contradict other empirical studies (some of which will be discussed in 4.5.2.2.). For example, (to employ a stereotype), such a cultural classification holds contrasting views with regard to

cultures' tendencies towards direct or indirect orientations. For example, Fukushima (2002) argues that the Japanese (who are supposed to belong to a collectivist culture and thus prefer indirect forms) prefer to use direct forms. Al Batal et al.'s (2002) empirical study also suggests that, overall, the strategies and frequency regarding refusals in Egypt (as a high-context culture) and the US (as a low-context culture) are similar. Thus, such contrasting views cannot be taken as the basis for empirical research. Furthermore, Fukushima (2002: 125) points out that, although Japan is seen as a collectivist culture, and there might be a degree of truth in this stereotype, "it is not an extreme case and it has shifted towards greater individualism than before under the influence of economic growth". Thus, although tendencies towards either collectivism or individualism might be recognised within cultures, describing a whole culture according to a stereotypical and static view of this individualism/collectivism distinction is inaccurate, because each culture tends to use both types to a greater or lesser extent.

#### **3.4.2. Positive and Negative Politeness Cultures**

Cultures are also classified as having positive or negative politeness orientations, according to the degree to which they tend to use either type. For Brown and Levinson (1978: 75), positive politeness "anoints the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked", whereas negative politeness "is characterized by self-effacement, formality and restraint, with attention to very restricted aspects of H's self-image, centring on his [her] want to be unimpeded". That is to say, positive politeness cultures tend to value social closeness, while negative politeness cultures have a tendency towards valuing social distance. For example, the British and Japanese are usually described as having a tendency for negative politeness (Mills and Kadar, 2011), while

a culture like Greece is described as having a positive politeness orientation (Sifianou, 1992). However, as Mills and Kadar (2011) argue, the interpretations of deference (which is argued to be stressed in negative politeness cultures) or camaraderie (which is argued to be emphasized in positive politeness cultures) might differ from one culture to another. For example, Mills and Kadar (2011: 27) point out that “deference in many Asian cultures is conventionalized just as indirectness is conventionalized in British English”. Thus, we cannot simply argue that a certain culture has a tendency towards a specific type of politeness, either positive or negative, because the function and understanding of each type might differ from culture to culture. Furthermore, as in the case with the collectivism/individualism distinction, positive and negative politeness may occur in all cultures, but to different extents (Mills and Kadar, 2011). Therefore, describing a whole culture as having a tendency towards either positive or negative politeness is inadequate.

### **3.5. Communication among Cultures: Intercultural Misunderstanding**

#### **3.5.1. Intercultural Communication and Stereotyping**

Most cross-cultural researchers’ work (as I show in 4.7.) is focused on explaining the different forms of communication within a certain culture, and thus attempting to reduce the number of misunderstandings that might occur during communication between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. For example, Fukushima (1996; 2002) suggests that, since requests are performed in a more direct way in Japanese than in British English, people in both cultures should take such differences into account to avoid possible misunderstandings. Similarly, Sifianou’s (1992) study demonstrates the difference between Greeks, whom, she argues, prefer more positive politeness, and English people, who tend to use more negative politeness. Consequently, her work “contribute[s] to the elimination of misunderstandings and negative stereotypes” (Sifianou, 1992: 14). However, we should be



cautious of the risk associated with stereotyping or generalising about cultures, because such stereotypes can involve evaluations of people who are judged in a specific way just because they belong to a particular culture.<sup>64</sup> For example, O'Sullivan et al., (1994) point out that stereotyping usually involves a specific perspective about a particular culture. That is, stereotyping is "the social classification of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalised signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history" (1994: 299). Thus, people are often placed according to the sort of group to which they belong. However, Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that linguistic norms are usually discussed at the stereotypical level and are assumed to be recognised as appropriate by all speakers, while these judgements are often based on investigating the norms of certain dominant groups. They point out, for example, that "when British English as a whole is described, it is...[the] middle class use of politeness which is taken to constitute the norm for British English as a whole. Thus the norms of working-class British people are not considered to represent British culture as a whole" (2011: 30). Thus, while politeness in British English is based on examining a particular social class, it is then generalised to the whole culture.

Hall (1997: 258) also refers to the danger of judging cultures at a stereotypical level; as stereotypes comprise only "simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized characteristics about a person, reducing everything about that person to those traits, exaggerate and simplify them, and fix them without change or development to

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<sup>64</sup>Scollon and Scollon (2005) make a distinction between positive and negative stereotypes, pointing out that negative stereotypes occur when members of different cultural groups are seen as polar opposites, while positive stereotypes occur when members of different cultural groups are seen as identical. However, Scollon and Scollon argue that "[w]hether the stereotyping is positive or negative in intent, it should be clear that it stands in the way of successful communication because it blinds the analyst to major areas of differences" (2005: 161).

eternity”. Such stereotypical judgements can be evident in intercultural interaction. However, empirical work on investigating different intercultural interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds is rare (Holliday et al., 2004; Hamza, 2007; Grainger, 2011). Holliday *et al.*’s (2004) work is one of the few studies to focus on this issue. Holliday et al. suggest that people in intercultural communication tend to make a presumption about the people to whom they communicate according to their membership of a specific group, rather than investigating who they really are. For example, Holliday et al. (2004) point out that Muslim women are usually presented “as lacking in power” (2004: 7), “subservient” (2004: 9) and are considered to be second class citizens in many Muslim countries. Such stereotypes might lead people to fail to communicate successfully with Muslim women, or to mismanage their intercultural relationships if they present themselves differently (e.g. being educated, successful, working women, and so on). That is, if a Muslim woman does not conform to such a stereotype that means she is simply not conforming to the common representation. To illustrate this point, Holliday et al. (2004) present a situation in which an Iranian Muslim woman, who was attending an international convention, was struggling because of this stereotype. This woman was seen by her European colleagues as surprising, when she was assertive, creative and articulate; as she was thought, according to stereotypical beliefs, to have less capability at the things she had successfully achieved, simply because she was a Muslim woman. This Iranian Muslim wanted to show that “her society, like all others, is complex and multi-faceted, and in order for anyone to show who they really are, this complicity has to be visible” (Holliday et al., 2004: 7), so she showed her colleagues a film in which Muslim women appear driving a jeep, hiring and firing people, being successful and educated and, like all other women, being their own person. Consequently, she succeeded in changing her colleagues’ initial perspective on her. Thus “[b]efore we can communicate with people who are different to ourselves, we need to understand something about how they

present themselves as being or belonging to certain groups” (Holliday et al., 2004: 19) and, through this, we can avoid making false judgements about them.

It should be mentioned that this is not the only example that Holliday et al. (2004) provide in order to show how people are culturally misunderstood. In fact, they present many situations taken from different cultures and social groups (e.g. Amish, Black African, refugees, and so on) which are similar to the above example. However, Holliday et al. (2004) suggest that people who did not see the reality of their interlocutor should not be completely blamed for misunderstanding them, because they are influenced by representations that affect their behaviour. The main source for such representations, according to these researchers, is ‘media images’. Holliday et al. (2004: 38) describe the influence of the world media as follows:

Many...countries less well known to the West, usually in the developing world, are represented very selectively in world media in terms of their most saleable, sensational, ‘exotic’ images...Hence, it would be easy for many Western people not to know...that many Arabs are not Muslim, that many Muslim women do not wear the *hejab* or veil, that many people in the developing world do not live in traditional souks, bazaars, shanty towns, thatched villages or war-torn streets with livestock.

From the above discussion, it can be argued that we need to be cautious when analysing norms, either within our own cultures or in making judgements about others’ cultures, so that false stereotypical assessments, which are usually built on certain ideological beliefs, can be avoided. However, this is not to say that stereotypes are not significant, as they can be “an indication of tendencies within the culture as a whole” (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 42), but they should not be treated as an absolute, to which all members of a given culture are assumed to conform.

### **3.5.2. Directness, Indirectness and Intercultural Misunderstanding**

Several theorists (Fukushima, 2002; Grainger 2011; Grainger et al., 2010) suggest that directness and indirectness are considered to be the main causes that give rise to pragmatic failure in intercultural communication, because they are usually judged from a particular cultural perspective (such as being ‘rude’ or ‘distant’). One reason for such miscommunication can be attributed to the nature of indirectness which involves some degree of ambiguity and vagueness. For example, Dascal, (1983) suggests that indirectness can be costly and risky. It is costly because it “takes longer for the speaker to produce and longer for the hearer to process” and it is risky in that “the hearer may not understand what the speaker is getting at” (Dascal, 1983; cited in Thomas, 1995: 120). Therefore, even among individuals from the same cultural background, indirectness can be a source of misunderstanding. However, Grainger (2011) argues that the precise nature of indirectness is controversial; as there is no consensus among scholars of politeness regarding its precise meaning (as I show in 4.2.). She examines the interactional style of Zimbabwean English speakers which seems to be different from British speakers’ conception of indirectness. Therefore, “indirectness is an important, yet possibly unrecognized source of miscommunication between southern African immigrants and British people” (Grainger, 2011: 172). The findings from a range of examples show that while, off-the-record strategies can be used by a Zimbabwean speaker in some face-damaging situations as a form of politeness, they can be perceived as impolite by British English speakers. Thus, “where the participants do not share the same interpretation frameworks, misunderstanding or misattribution of intention may result. There is great potential for the recipient of ‘indirectness’ to misinterpret it as vagueness, weakness or rudeness and ultimately, for the deterioration of intercultural relations” (Grainger, 2011: 189). However, I believe that misunderstanding indirectness is not restricted to those who do not share similar frameworks of interpretation, because even participants who belong to the same

cultural background may misinterpret the intended meaning, because indirectness is open to different interpretations. Sharing the same cultural frameworks does not always guarantee an accurate interpretation but, of course, indirectness may be less ambiguous for people who share similar cultural backgrounds.

Similarly, Grainger, Mills, and Sibanda (2010) examine the universality of the concept of indirectness and face, and its variation across cultures. Specifically, their study discusses the southern African perspective on the notions of face and the self by investigating intercultural interaction between a Zimbabwean English speaker, who is the leader of a community choir, and British English speakers, who are members of this group. Grainger et al. argue that “while face needs may be universally relevant in such a situation, the way in which they are oriented to in interaction depends on cultural understandings of which aspects of face are paramount in particular circumstances. Since these assumptions are deep-seated and invisible they are not easily open to explicit negotiation and hence can lead to misinterpretation” (Grainger et al., 2010: 2158). Thus, treating cultures as homogenous and static is inadequate. The study conducted by Grainger et al. (2010) aimed to show that different interpretation frameworks can result from the participants’ contributions in a specific communicational event. “These frameworks are informed by culture-specific notions of appropriate self-presentation” (2010: 2159). To illustrate this point, Grainger et al. argue that, despite the importance of the southern African concepts of *hlonipha*, (which can be translated as ‘to pay respect’), and *ubuntu*, (which is translated as ‘humanity’), in indicating politeness by using indirect strategies in these cultures, such indirectness can be misunderstood by British English speakers, and thus be “interpreted instead as incompetence or weakness” (2010: 2159). Therefore,

There may be different face strategies and different interpretational frameworks for those face strategies operating at the same time within an interaction. This may lead to very diverse interpretations of the same behaviour. Thus, different cultural groups may develop different resources for managing relations with other people and situated oneself within a group which has implications for the way that one's individual face needs are conceptualised (Grainger et al.,2010: 2169).

Mey (1993) also argues that there are differences in the way people use politeness strategies from one culture to another. In English, for instance, he argues indirectness is the most preferred style in performing requests; consequently, English speakers seem to avoid using imperatives in making requests or orders. As Mey puts it: "the occurrence of the imperative in orders or requests is dispreferred in many languages, including English" (1993: 113), whereas in other nations (e.g. Germany) directness is the most preferred form. Such difference, according to Mey, "has been the cause of much misunderstanding and has given rise to a number of cross-cultural prejudices" (1993: 121). For example, Mey argues that Israelis are often perceived as being rude by Americans, because Israeli speakers seem to be more direct.

Therefore, many researchers (Kasper 1992; Suh 1999; Zegarac and Pennington, 2000; Hong, 2008; Bacha, 2011) draw attention to the possible influence of the native speakers' cultural pragmatic knowledge on their L2 communicational behaviour. In order to understand this phenomenon, Zegarac and Pennington (2000) refer to the effect of the 'pragmatic transfer' process on the act of communication, which they define as "the transfer of pragmatic knowledge in situations of intercultural communication" (2000: 167). That is, pragmatic transfer usually refers to situations in which the interlocutors' previous knowledge influences the acquiring of new knowledge in learning the second language. In such situations, people might be affected by their existing mental set, which is "a frame of mind

involving an existing disposition to think of a problem or a situation in a particular way” (Zegarac and Pennington, 2000: 166). Thus, for them, people from different cultural backgrounds might be influenced by their different mental sets and behave accordingly.

For example, Kasper (1992) refers to the possible influence of first language pragmatic transfer on learning a new language. The results of his study on a number of American learners of Korean show that they tend to use semantic request forms which are similar to American native speaker forms. Suh (1999) also suggests that, despite some similarities between English native speakers and ESL Korean learners in using politeness strategies in certain situations (e.g. intimate friendship), the Korean learners who took part in her study failed to manage to use the politeness strategies that were used by native speakers of English. Similarly, Hong’s (2008) research aimed to make a cross-cultural comparison of apology strategies in English by two groups of college students: native and non-native speakers of English. The study’s findings showed that the difference between the apology strategies employed by these two groups might result from the students’ different cultural backgrounds. Therefore, such situations indicate that interlocutors may carry over their cultural pragmatic knowledge from their first language to the target language they are learning, and, thus their behaviour might be influenced by the transfer of their first language knowledge to the second language. Thus, “a set of empirically derived dimensions of cultural differences may be taken as guidelines to understanding some of the underlying reasons for the often emotionally charged nature of interpersonal relations in intercultural talk” (House, 2000: 163). This claim can explain, at least partly, why intercultural misunderstandings occur.

In order to avoid such intercultural misunderstanding, many researchers (Hinkel, 1999) draw attention to the importance of teaching what are seen as the norms of a culture

when teaching foreign languages, instead of focusing only on mastering language forms of pragmatic communicative competence, which can be defined as “the ability of the second language learner to use language according to the pragmatic rules that govern the use of linguistic utterances as used by native adult speakers” (Nureddeen, 2008: 280). Such competence is not only seen as a key means for successful intercultural interactions but, rather, is “also seen as necessary for recognizing one’s own socio-cultural norms” (Nureddeen, 2008: 280). So, what might be seen as polite behaviour in a particular situation and a certain culture might not be so in another. “This has important implications for raising teacher awareness and orientating students, and ‘reframing their linguistic politeness’” (Bacha, 2012: 89), and thus reduces the possibilities of misunderstandings arising during intercultural communication.

In the light of the above discussion, we can conclude that, although what are seen as cultural norms play a role in speakers’ politeness strategy choices, it should not be dealt with at a stereotypical level since stereotypes “limit our understanding of human behaviour and of intercultural discourse because they limit our view of human activity to just one or two salient dimensions and consider those to be the whole picture” (Scollon and Scollon, 2005: 156). Thus, we should be aware of the risk of judging people according to specific stereotypes. To this extent, we can suggest that the traditional politeness frameworks, like Brown and Levinson’s (1987), do not provide an adequate explanation for the politeness phenomenon, because they ignore the variability and complexity within and across cultures. Discursive approaches, on the other hand, are well aware of such variations. Thus, they can provide a useful framework for investigating different aspects of social interactions without falling into the trap of stereotyping, as I show in the following section.



### 3.6. Politeness across Cultures: A Discursive Perspective

As I discussed in chapter 2, the recent research on politeness has moved away from Brown and Levinson's (1987) theoretical framework to propose a more dynamic interactional model for the analysis of politeness; that is, the discursive approach. This new framework advocates the importance of analysing language at the discourse level rather than single utterances, and considering a certain community in studying politeness (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011; Bargiela-Chiappini and Kadar, 2011). The present study's method is inspired by recent researchers' models. This is motivated out of a need for a thorough study of what motivates directness and indirectness in Arab culture (particularly Libyan culture) and British English culture in order to contribute to a better understanding of Arab and English communicational styles. To this extent, it is worth considering some of the previous cross-cultural studies on politeness in which discursive approaches have been used as a framework in order to show the difference between stereotypical representations of cultures, which are based on applying the traditional models (particularly Brown and Levinson's), and real-life encounters. As East Asian cultures (particularly China and Japan) are mostly presented at the stereotypical level (e.g. being indirect and deferential), in this section, I present several studies on East Asian cultures in which observed behaviour is shown to be different from the predictive or stereotypical behaviour in these cultures.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>It is noteworthy that Asian nations are not the only cultures that are represented in a stereotypical way; many other cultures (including English) are too often dealt with according to stereotype. For example, Rusieshvili's (2011) study, which investigates the role of in-groups and out-groups in using address forms in Georgia, revealed that such address forms are dynamic and change according to the relationship between the interlocutors, rather than being fixed and static, as suggested by Rukhadze (2002). Furthermore, many other researchers have chosen to take a discursive perspective on politeness as a framework for investigating the (im)politeness phenomenon in English (cf. e.g. Linguistic Politeness Research Group (eds.), 2011).

Pan (2011) points out that, although discursive approaches have proved to be a valuable analytical framework, relatively little East Asian research has been influenced by a discursive perspective. However, several studies (e.g. Pan, 2011; Pizziconi, 2011; Stadler, 2011; Kadar and Pan, 2011; Haugh and Obana, 2011) have attempted to provide an insight into methodological issues in the analysis of East Asian politeness.<sup>66</sup> Pan (2011), for instance, argues that the analysis of politeness should be situational rather than absolute. Thus, developing a new methodology that can take situational and contextual elements into consideration is needed in analysing East Asian politeness. In order to achieve this goal, Pan proposes a ‘situational-oriented methodological approach’ which she has labelled a ‘grammar of politeness’. This is based on the idea that “there are integral components of a linguistic phenomenon, such as politeness, in a communicative event...In this sense, we need to develop an overarching framework to put together all interactional components in our analysis in linguistic politeness” (2011: 81). Pan maintains that East Asian researchers have applied an Anglo-Saxon model to East Asian politeness and used a similar research methodology. Most of these studies have criticised politeness theories, particularly the models which adopted the notion of the universality of politeness strategies (e.g. Brown and Levisohn’s (1987) model). Although the findings of these studies have provided a good insight into East Asian politeness, for example, they argued for a difference between English and Chinese in realizing indirectness and reacting to a certain speech act (e.g. compliments), such a methodology, according to Pan, did not engage well with East Asian politeness at a discourse level because “the data gathered through this method were based on prescribed and simulated situations. This data collection methodology excluded dynamic interactional and

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<sup>66</sup> The studies considered in this section are particularly on Chinese, Japanese, and Korean cultures, because these are usually presented from a stereotypical perspective. However, there are many other politeness studies on different East Asian cultures, such as Chew’s (2011) work on Vietnam; Lee’s (2011) on Singapore; Kim’s (2011) on Korea.

discursive elements in the analysis” (Pan, 2011: 75). The traditional methods cannot provide a sufficient analytical framework for the analysis of politeness in cross-cultural studies. Thus, Pan suggests the application of a more dynamic and contextual model.

To illustrate this, Pan mentions an example that took place at a wedding reception in Beijing. The tradition whereby the bride serves tea to her parents-in-law is seen as an important part of the ritual that the newly-wed couple should perform. In serving a cup of tea to her father-in-law, the bride said ‘Father (formal), please drink this tea’, but when offering a cup of tea to her mother-in-law, the bride said ‘Mother (informal), drink this tea’. From the perspective of the traditional models of politeness, Pan argues, the first utterance is seen as polite, because a formal register is used to address the father-in-law, and also a polite formulaic expression (‘please’) is used. However, the second utterance would be evaluated as impolite, because a ‘bald on record’ strategy is used without any polite expression. From a discursive approach’s view, however, where contextual and interactional aspects are taken into consideration, Pan argues, the style of politeness is shifted by the speaker, because of her recognition of the power differences between the addressees, with the ‘male’ in a more powerful position than the ‘female’. Furthermore, the second utterance did not seem to be evaluated negatively by the mother-in-law who, according to Pan, hugged her daughter-in-law, gave her a gift and called her ‘my daughter’. Thus, there seems to be a discrepancy between the results obtained through applying traditional politeness theory and those achieved by employing a more interactional model, which takes into account the way the utterance was responded to.

Pan further maintains that power plays a crucial role in Chinese politeness behaviour, but the source of power should be taken into consideration as it differs from one situational

encounter to another. For example, “in service encounters, the source of power is associated with the service institution and with the type of relationship...while in family gathering, gender and then age matter most” (Pan, 2011: 77). However, Pan argues that, in the analysis of politeness behaviour, power is not static. Instead, it is “dynamic and subject to interactional components in a communicative event” (Pan, 2011: 77). To illustrate this, she conducted a project focusing on a study of three telephone calls made by a Hong Kong professional in different business situations. The three calls, Pan points out, were commented on by business professionals from Hong Kong and Beijing in a focus group setting. Both groups provided two different sets of views (one from each group): “For the Hong Kong group, the business outcome is more important. For the Beijing group, the prospective long-term relationship is more crucial in determining the amount of politeness needed” (Pan, 2011: 91). Pan points out that, although both the Hong Kong and Beijing participants speak the same language, they assess the situation in the three calls differently. Thus, she goes on to argue that language should not be seen as the main factor that has an impact on the evaluation of polite behaviour; rather, it is the belonging to a certain community of practice that governs such judgments. Furthermore, the results of this study show that “some practices may be acceptable in one society, or at least certain communities of practice of the given society, but offensive in another” (Pan, 2011: 91). Therefore, we cannot rely only on linguistic strategies in analysing politeness behaviour. Rather, it is a matter of situational and interpretational variations.

In a similar way, Stadler (2011) draws attention to the problem of making generalisations about politeness norms across cultures. She argues that a wide range of research on politeness studies compare aspects of politeness between different cultures. Although such studies have provided a good insight into linguistic politeness, Stadler argues,

they still “tell us little about what happens when members of two different cultures interact with one another” (2011: 98). Thus, the main aim of Stadler’s study is to critically investigate advice writing particularly geared towards Western audiences: profession-specific writings, and popular writing and their presentation of politeness in an East Asian context. The purpose of the analysis of popular advice writing is to explore the extent to which individuals (particularly Westerners) are advised to interact with people from East Asian cultures (particularly mainland Chinese) by providing some insight into the representations of politeness norms in East Asia. Profession-specific written works “stem predominantly from linguistic politeness theory...and the area of communication studies, rooted in psychology” (2011: 99). By so doing, Stadler aims to examine whether both popular and professional writing can prepare the readers for successful interactions.

Stadler states that the popular characteristics of East Asian societies and the research on politeness in these societies portray East Asians as indirect, modest and humble; they value politeness and good manners and thus do not criticise, shame or embarrass others in public. In Stadler’s words: “there is still an overwhelming tendency towards portraying East Asian politeness as predominantly ruled by principles of politeness, indirectness and modesty” (2011: 108). However, Stadler’s research includes an empirical study of two cases which took place between the same British host and two different mainland Chinese guests at two different business meetings in the UK. The British host is fluent in Standard Chinese and has both lived and worked in China. In both encounters, both parties had a desire to maintain good business relations. In the first case study, the British host offered her Chinese guest tea as part of the hospitality ritual. The tea itself was a gift to the host from another Chinese guest in the past. After drinking the tea, the Chinese visitor commented:

‘This is very good quality Chinese tea, [name of British host]. Shame it is stale though. You should get some fresh tea next time. I will bring you some when I come back’ (Stadler, 2011: 110).

The Chinese guest’s comment ‘shame it is stale though’, which seems to be appropriate and unproblematic for him according to Stadler, may cause offence to people who are unfamiliar with such critical comments. For example, Stadler argues that, in British English culture, where it is unlikely for such criticisms to be produced in similar contexts, such comments could be seen as ‘embarrassing’, ‘face-threatening’, ‘rude’ and ‘far too direct’. Similarly, the visitor’s offer to bring fresh tea the next time he comes was evaluated negatively by the host, who felt embarrassed, because this remark made her feel that her hospitality was inadequate.

The second incident that Stadler mentioned involved a similar misunderstanding of a Chinese visitor’s behaviour which was caused by the British host’s unfamiliarity with certain practices. In this incident, the Chinese visitor refused to drink tea from the mug offered him, preferring to use his own mug instead. Although the Chinese person’s behaviour was not meant to be offensive, it might be seen as rude, shocking or annoying in a British context, because such behaviour does not match the expected polite behaviour. The results of Stadler’s study, thus, show that there is a paradox between stereotypical representations of a culture and real-life encounters in the above examples. This paradox is illustrated when individuals’ behaviour differs from what is expected. For example, Stadler (2011: 113) compares the common stereotypical representations of East Asian cultures and the behaviour of the Chinese visitors in both incidents, and suggests that:

1- *East Asian people value and exhibit polite, considerate and well-mannered behaviour.* The behaviour the mainland Chinese visitors exhibit may well count as polite, considerate and well-mannered in their own cultural contexts...but, when transferred into a formal British context, these associations evoke doubts regarding their different cultural settings.

2- *East Asians are indirect, implicit and suggestive.* None of these adjectives seems adequately to describe the behaviour encountered in both incidents where the visitors are very straightforward.

3- *East Asians do not embarrass, shame or criticise anyone in public.* In both examples, the criticism occurred in the presence of others.

4- *East Asians are face-conscious and causing others to lose 'face' is unforgivable.* Suggesting that the host served the visitors stale tea may well cause the host a loss of 'face' and could be considered quite insulting.

5- *East Asians are modest and humble.* To insinuate that the visitor's knowledge of tea is superior to the host's and that he can provide better quality tea raises questions as to the level of modesty and humility exhibited (Stadler, 2011: 113).

These results therefore indicate that "only through a thoroughgoing critique of stereotypical views and a more 'local' focus on the norms within particular communities of practice can we provide an adequate analysis of politeness norms" (Stadler, 2011: 114). Stadler suggests that such a phenomenon is not limited to British/mainland Chinese contexts, but might also exist in other cultures, such as Japan and Korea; accordingly, it is necessary to develop forms of analysis which are context-based. The research findings also show that, although there are some differences between the mainland Chinese and British concepts of what constitutes polite behaviour, such differences should not be illustrated by generalising about politeness norms in research on Chinese politeness.

Similarly, Haugh and Obana (2011) point out that it is only in recent years that researchers have recognised that a full understanding of (im)politeness in Japan cannot be restricted to the study of honorifics, which is defined by Kim (2011) as "a system that encodes one's deference towards speaking partners who are viewed as superior in age or in social standing" (Kim, 2011: 176). Haugh and Obana (2011) argue that a great deal of research in Japan in particular and in East Asian cultures in general is dominated by an

argument between culture-specific and universal perspectives. Therefore, Haugh and Obana suggest that the discursive approach can offer a solution to this dilemma and help to move us beyond this argument, because a discursive approach focuses on the evaluation of the hearer along with that of the speaker. This approach also proposes that “we need to theorise and analyse politeness not only at the level of individuals interacting, but also at the level of society” (2011: 148). Haugh and Obana’s research focuses on the role that the concept of ‘tachiba’ plays at the social and individual levels of politeness. ‘Tachiba’ literally means ‘the place where one stands’. In other words, in Japan, the speaker must consider his/her relationship with the hearer when performing a particular act. Tachiba then “essentially refers to one’s roles in social interaction, or social selves” (Haugh and Obana, 2011: 157). Haugh and Obana suggest that people adapt their behaviour according to the situation they are in, the people with whom they are interacting, and so on. By discussing various examples of speech events, such as requests, compliments, praise, offers and invitations, Haugh and Obana attempt to verify their claim that “it is through the interactional achievement of *tachiba* that evaluations of particular linguistic forms and strategies as polite arise in Japanese” (2011: 159), not only through a focus on honorifics.

Haugh and Obana also argue that most studies have simply applied Brown and Levinson’s (1987) approach to the analysis of politeness in Japanese, focusing on how certain speech acts can be used politely in comparison to English. However, they argue that “it is the participants’ relationship, and their respective roles and statuses that emerge as crucial in explications of politeness in Japanese, despite researchers claiming that it is the notion of face that underpins their analyses” (2011: 151). For instance, by analysing examples of making requests in Japanese, they found that the choice between direct and indirect requests is not a matter of potential face threat but, rather, of whether requests are the focus of the *tachiba* of



the speaker along with that of the hearer. Consequently, if they “lie within the interlocutor’s *tachiba*, direct and declarative forms can be employed and this is interpretable as polite. The relative degree of imposition is thus not considered” (2011: 163). Similarly, a compliment can be a very offensive act in Japan. For instance, praising the work of older people might be understood as an evaluation of their performance. Therefore, compliments require “extra care because [they] can sound condescending and thus potentially impolite” (Haugh and Obana, 2011: 164). According to Haugh and Obana, these examples indicate that the ‘*tachiba*’ is not *a priori* for the interactants, but rather it emerges in the course of interaction. In other words, the analysis of these examples shows that not all “politeness phenomena in Japanese can be explicated with respect to *tachiba*” (Haugh and Obana, 2011: 164) but it can be used to explain a wide range of aspects of politeness in Japanese.

In the same stereotypical way, much of the work on politeness in Korea is too often described at a stereotypical level as it explicates politeness in relation to ‘honorifics’. Honorifics are perceived by native speakers of Korean as the exclusive conditions for politeness. In other words, in Korea, the lack of the use of honorification of a superior is traditionally treated as rudeness towards that person. Kim’s (2011) study, however, aims at framing the relationship between honorifics and politeness in Korea to distinguish between both notions. It shows “how the notions of deference (as the core notion of honorifics) and politeness referred to in Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), Leech (1983) and Watts (2003) differ from each other in the Korean context” (Kim, 2011: 181). Through his research, Kim discusses various examples to justify his claim that the notion of politeness is distinct from that of honorifics. The results he obtained by discussing these examples show that:

1- Honorifics can be sufficient but not exclusive forms for politeness, as politeness can be expressed without honorifics in Korea. Speakers can be polite through using sentences which involve other rhetorical devices such as conditional, interrogative and a variety of hedges. Such sentences are interpreted as polite because “they contain adequate redress measures, not just because of the use of honorific devices” (Kim, 2011: 186). Kim verifies that honorifics are not the only way of expressing politeness in Korea; thus, people can be polite without performing honorifics.

2-Speech style choices in Korea are governed in terms of the gap between the in-group and the out-group. For example, in an in-group, honorific sentences are expressed by subordinates towards superiors but not *vice versa*. Consequently, the absence of honorifics in the superior’s speech would not be assessed as impolite behaviour. Furthermore, honorific usage by a superior towards a subordinate might be seen as a joke or sarcasm by the subordinate, or even as a serious offence.

3- Performing honorifics does not necessarily indicate politeness. This is illustrated through the examples Kim mentions in his study. That is, “one can be impolite in a statement presented in honorific terms” (2011: 199). This shows that linguistic meaning is not sufficient in analysing politeness behaviour. Rather, it is a matter of situational and contextual variation.

On the whole, through exploring various aspects of politeness features in Korea, Kim’s study reveals that a distinction should be made between the notion of politeness and honorifics in Korean. Despite the overall impression of Koreans that politeness is necessarily expressed through honorifics, Kim’s findings draw attention to the importance of making sentences without honorific markings to express politeness in Korea in some contexts (i.e. a superior towards a subordinate) where using honorifics can be interpreted as a source of

offence rather than politeness. Therefore, this study, albeit implicitly, distinguishes between ideological beliefs about how people feel they behave and how they actually behave. That is “the range of meanings that honorifics can convey in actual instances of use is broader than the meanings stereotypically attributed to them...by language users” (Pizziconi, 2011: 70), or by other views about what constitutes honorific in past research on East Asian cultures as a whole.

Pizziconi (2011) argues that honorifics are typically explained as an indication of politeness, deference or humility. However, through several cases that she examines in her study on Japanese, Pizziconi (2011) argues that honorifics are not necessary to express politeness (or, more precisely, deference), as politeness can be shown even without the use of explicit honorific forms. Furthermore, honorifics can be used as an impolite device to convey anger, flattery, irony or annoyance. Thus, honorifics, according to Pizziconi, should not be treated as absolute rules that have certain polite functions; rather, the wide range of possible meanings of honorifics should be discussed according to context- and situation-based aspects of politeness.

In the light of the above discussion, we can say that applying a specific theory of politeness (such as Brown and Levinson's, 1987) within or across cultures cannot reflect the actual functions of this phenomenon within cultures. Rather, it reflects the theorist's view which cannot be applicable to all cultures. Cultures “are by nature highly complex. Indeed, this complexity becomes self-evident when observing the multiple curative practices, contrasting conceptions of youth, different uses of technology, invocations to changing gods, love or hate for pork or horsemeat, and dissimilar views of the future of humanity found in even the most remote parts of the world” (Grimson, 2010: 73). Politeness, then, is a complex

phenomenon and can be expressed differently across cultures, so any attempt to make universalistic generalisations about it cannot be adequate. Thus, we need to investigate how individuals actually behave rather than trying to show how a certain model can fit a particular culture, or comparing cultures according to their conformity to a specific model, because it is difficult (if not impossible) to find a theoretical model that can generalize to fit all cases in different cultures. Furthermore, describing a cultural group at a stereotypical level might lead one to see the traits of the individuals within this group as part of their nature (Grainger, 2014), while they are in fact environmentally- and culturally-induced.<sup>67</sup>

### **3.7. Politeness in Arab and English Cultures**

In recent years, in politeness research, “the number of studied languages is steadily growing, English and German being particularly popular” (Ogiermann, 2009: 191). Politeness has been extensively studied in Western languages,<sup>68</sup> particularly English (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987; Leech, 1983; Searle, 1969, 1975; Lakoff, 1973), but this is not true of Arabic. However, the number of studies that deal with the various Arabic dialects have fundamentally increased in the last decade (Nureddeen 2008; Jebahi 2010; Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012; Al Batal et al., 2002), something that provides a useful insight into Arabic politeness.<sup>69</sup> In this section, therefore, I will discuss the communicational styles of Arabic and British English cultures but, before going on to explore this, we need to clarify who is considered an ‘Arab’, and what are the varieties of Arabic language.

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<sup>67</sup> Some stereotypes are taken for granted as ‘natural’ or ‘the truth’ about certain groups, while they are false. Holliday et al. (2004), for example, argue that Black African people are sometimes seen as necessarily less active or clever than other groups (say, white people), and are dealt with according to this false assumption.

<sup>68</sup> Western cultures are not the only ones whose languages have been extensively examined; many Asian cultures, particularly China and Japan, have also been widely-explored.

<sup>69</sup> Some of these studies will be discussed in Section 4.8.1.

### 3.7.1. Who is 'Arab'?

The common belief, particularly among Western people, is that all Arabs are Muslims, or all Muslims are Arabs (Holliday et al., 2004), and all Middle Eastern countries are considered to be Arab. This belief, however, is inaccurate, because the Arab world is only a part of the Middle East which is further surrounded by other Islamic countries, both Asian (such as Iran and Turkey) and African (such as Chad, Mali, Niger and Senegal), which are not Arab. However, there are many other Muslim-majority countries around the world in which Islam is the dominant religion. The largest Muslim population countries are located in South and Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. There are also large Muslim communities in Russia, India and China, while large Muslim immigrant communities are hosted by many other parts of the world, particularly Western Europe. Moreover, while about 85-90% of Arabs are Muslims, only about 20% of the Muslim population is Arab (Feghali, 1997); thus, 'Arab' "is not a race, religion, or nationality...Throughout the region, people vary in terms of such physical characteristics as hair, eye and skin colour. Although Arab countries are predominantly Muslim, Lebanon and Egypt have substantial Christian populations" (Feghali, 1997: 349).<sup>70</sup> Thus, it is not easy to specify who Arabs are. However, a possible definition of Arabs, albeit a problematic one, is suggested by Jabra (1971), who define an 'Arab' as "...anyone who speaks Arabic as his [her] own language and consequently feels as an Arab" (cited in Feghali, 1997: 350).

However, there seem to be at least two problems with this definition of 'Arab'. The first problem is that, if we consider only individuals who speak Arabic as their own language

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<sup>70</sup>It is worth mentioning that, besides Islam and Christianity, other small religious minorities also exist in certain Arabic regions, such as Jews in Tunisia, Morocco and Yemen; and Yazidis and Druze in Syria and Iraq.

as Arab, we would exclude those living in non-Arabic countries who do not speak Arabic but who have Arab origins. For example, many young Arab people, whose parents migrated to Europe a long time ago, cannot speak Arabic, yet still consider themselves Arab. The other problem that can be identified is that there are many Arab nations (e.g. Somalia) whose most of their residents do not speak Arabic (but Somali) and yet are classified as Arabs. So, in my view, Arabs can be defined as people who belong to Arab countries (which are located in North Africa, the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian Peninsula) whether they speak Arabic or not, and whether they live in Arab countries or not, who define themselves as Arabs.<sup>71</sup>

### 3.7.2. Arabic language:

Arabic, in all Arab countries, is of a diglossic nature, as there are two versions of the language: 'Fossha' "فصحى" 'Standard Arabic or Modern Literary Arabic',<sup>72</sup> which is used in formal situations (e.g. the language of the government, media, religion, newspapers and so on), and 'Ammiyya' "عامية" or 'colloquial dialects', which is used as an everyday spoken language in demotic interactions. Arabs from different countries have developed various colloquial dialects that differ from each other. "Because of this variability, it is inaccurate to assume that Tunisians and Iraqis, for instance, readily understand one another" (Feghali, 1997: 257). However, Arabs with different dialects, which might be difficult to understand, can always find a way to communicate, either by speaking standard Arabic (especially by

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<sup>71</sup>It should be noted that other cultural groups of people who live in certain Arab countries have different cultural identities and different languages, and do not consider themselves Arab. These include the Berbers or the 'Amazigh', who speak the Berber language and reside in North Africa, particularly Libya, Algeria and Morocco. Most of the Berber people share language, belong to the Berber homeland and have a similar historical identification. Other cultural groups include the Touareg and Tabu in North Africa; and Kurdish people in Iraq and Syria, each of whom have their own language and do not consider themselves as Arab. However, most of these groups can speak Arabic as a second language because of their religious background, which is Islam.

<sup>72</sup> A distinction is usually made between two varieties of standard Arabic: the Classical Arabic of the Holy Quran; and standard modern Arabic which is in use today. However, modern Arabic is based on Classical Arabic, and there is not a great difference between these two varieties.

educated people) or by using a simple dialect (e.g. Egyptian) which can be understood by the interlocutors.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.7.3. The Historical Meaning of Politeness in Arabic and English

The notion of politeness can be expressed in Arabic by the word ‘adab’ ‘أدب’, which is a translation equivalent of ‘politeness’. However, the same word can also be used to refer to literature in Arabic. It is worth mentioning that, in pre-Islamic times, ‘adab’ was used to mean ‘invitation’ rather than politeness in its broader sense (Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012). Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh (2012) refer to Idrees’ (1985) explanation of the meaning of ‘adab’ as referring to generosity and hospitality. In my view, this may explain, at least partly, why generosity and hospitality are usually regarded as the main elements of Arabic politeness. For instance,

Arabs used to say (Fulan adaba al-qawm) (فلان أدب القوم إذ دعاهم لمأدبة) meaning that someone invited people to feast; thus, the meaning of the word ‘adab’ (أدب) was concerned with the behavioural aspect of a person’s relationships with others...Then the use of the word (أدب) has expanded in the Islamic era to refer to morality, generosity, tolerance and virtue. All these meanings have been numerous reported by many sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh, 2012: 86).

Thus, the meaning of *Adab* has changed over the course of many centuries. The meaning of politeness in British English, on the other hand, originates from the word ‘polished’, which is, according to Grainger et al. (2015: 51) “signalling the norms of elite, the court and the educated, rather than hospitality”. This different history of politeness’ meaning may influence the evaluation of (im)polite behaviour in both cultures.

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<sup>73</sup>It is worth mentioning that films and drama play a key role in spreading certain Arabic dialects (e.g. Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti) among different Arab countries, which makes them easier to understand than other dialects, because most Arabs are familiar with them.

### 3.7.4. British English Communication Style

British English is often represented as a negative politeness culture due to the emphasis on social distance and privacy. For example, Brown and Levinson (1978) propose that “in societies where high D [distance] relations dominate in public encounters...one would expect symmetrical use of high-numbered strategies to be most evident” (1978: 256). They suggest that, since British English culture places a high value on social distance, there is a preference for using negative politeness strategies; thus, for them, the English prefer more indirect forms. In Brown and Levinson’s words, “in our culture, negative politeness is the most elaborate and the most conventionalized set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress; it is the stuff that fills the etiquette book” (1978: 135). Similarly, from a Western perspective, Levinson (1983) points out that most usages of speech acts, particularly requests, are performed indirectly in British English culture. He contends that “most usages [of requests] are indirect” (1983: 264), arguing that imperatives, for example, are less appropriate or even unacceptable when issuing orders and requests in English-speaking societies, whereas some usages of other types of speech acts (such as offers and greetings) can be direct. In Levinson’s words “imperatives are rarely used to commend or request in conversational English...but occur regularly in recipes and instructions, offers, welcoming, wishes, curses, and swearing” (1983: 275). However, considering all of the British English to be members of the same cultural group without bearing in mind the differences among these groups is problematic, because this might lead to false stereotypes (as already discussed in 3.5.1.). Scollon and Scollon (2005: 161), for example, argue that “communication is inherently ambiguous. Effective communication depends on finding and clarifying sources of ambiguity as well as learning to deal with places where miscommunication occurs. Such clarification is impossible when the analyst does not recognize areas of difference among participants, because he or she will assume common ground and mutual understanding”. Thus, as I



mentioned earlier, not all speakers recognise certain linguistic norms as appropriate (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, “[i]n the British context, within the middle class dominant cultural values, behaviour could be said to be underpinned by a basic assumption that freedom of action and the independence of the individual are paramount” (Grainger et al., 2015: 53). Thus, it could be argued that freedom from imposition is given priority in British English society as a whole, and can be seen as enregistered within linguistic forms.

### **3.7.5. Arab Communication Style**

Since generosity and hospitality are considered to be the main elements that indicate cohesion, group maintenance and politeness towards others in Arab culture, “the offering and receiving of hospitality has generated its own rituals and accompanying formulas in Arab society to a high degree of elaboration” (Emery, 2012: 205). Feghali, (1997), for example, explains the difference between American and Arab societies in terms of hospitality. He suggests that “social situations in America commonly require a verbal or written invitation, while in Arab societies; the situation is vague, complex and defined by context” (Feghali, 1997: 353). Similarly, although there seems to be a certain obligation to offer hospitality in Arabic and English cultures, as Grainger et al. (2015) argue, there is a slight difference between offers in both cultures in terms of the conventions on what is expected. For example, “in the British situation that hospitality may more easily be refused than in the Arabic situation” (Grainger et al., 2015: 64), where offers go through several turns of insisting on offers before they are accepted or refused (as I will show in Chapter 7). Thus, not only do Arabs tend to consider hospitality as an essential prerequisite for indicating politeness and enhancing social relationships, but they also “expect hospitality from others, and one’s personal status and reputation may be affected by the absence of such behaviour” (Feghali, 1997: 353). Thus, Arabs tend to see offering and receiving hospitality as an obligation (see

Grainger et al., 2015), and this form of behaviour is valued within the society at an ideological level.

Arab culture is also classified as collectivist due to their emphasis on mutual interdependence (Hofstede, 1980); therefore, Arab people are argued to have a tendency to maintain their social relationships with others in order to stress this interdependence. It is also argued that, because of the collectivist nature of Arab societies, Arab people are assumed to avoid direct forms of speech in favour of indirect forms (Merkin, 2012). However, this way of explaining the conventions of Arabic culture “is grossly over-simplified and does not take account of the fact that collectivist tendencies occur in all societies, but to different extents in different situations” (Grainger et al, 2015). For example, Katriel (1986) explains that the indirect style of Arabs can be labelled ‘*musayra*’ (which literally means ‘go along with’) which is in contrast to the direct speech form of ‘*dugri*’<sup>74</sup> in Israeli Sabraculture.<sup>75</sup> She points out that:

A major function of *musayra* is to constrain individual behaviour in such a way as to protect the social realm from the potential disruption that may result from individual

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<sup>74</sup>Dugri is “translatable as straight or direct talk” (Katriel, 1986: 1). Although the word *dugri* was borrowed from colloquial Arabic, Katriel says, it has a narrow application in Hebrew. For example, in Arabic, it can be used literally to mean ‘straightness’, such as a ‘straight’ road, or metaphorically “as an attribute of a person who is *dugri* (roughly, honest and honourable), or of speech, as in ‘speak the *dugri*’ (i.e. tell the truth, don’t lie)” (Katriel, 1986: 11). However, what has been imported to Hebrew is only the metaphorical meaning. Thus, the word *dugri* can be used “as an attribute of either a person (as in ‘he is *dugri*’), a way of speaking (as in ‘speak *dugri*,’ i.e. in a straightforward way), a speech event (as in a ‘*dugri* talk’) or a human bond (as in ‘a *dugri* relationship,’ implying a relationship in which *dugri* speech is the rule” ((Katriel, 1986: 11). It is worth mentioning that the word *dugri*, despite its Arabic origin, is not used by all Arabic speakers. For example, while it might be common in particular Arab countries, such as in Palestine and Jordan, in most others, the similar metaphorical meaning of the word *dugri* can be “Frank صراحة”, which means speaking directly and telling the truth.

<sup>75</sup>Sabra culture is “the subculture of native-born Israelis of Jewish heritage, mainly of European decent, which became crystallized in the prestate period of the 1930s and 1940s and is still influential in contemporary Israeli culture” (Katriel, 1986: 1).

expression...a paradigmatic Sabra will speak his or her mind under any circumstances, firm in the belief that expressing oneself openly will ultimately prove to be the most effective strategy, whatever the circumstances (1986: 112).

According to Katriel (1986), then, one way (among others) to do *Musayra* in Arabic is to use indirectness.<sup>76</sup> However, whereas a number of researchers describe Arab people as being indirect, many empirical studies (as I show in the next chapter) do not support this claim. For example, Feghali (1997) argues that, in Arabic, “both positive and negative comments about personal appearance, such as hair style, clothing, and jewellery, are often direct” (1997: 359). This may illustrate that Arabic-speaking societies cannot be classified as simply direct or indirect, which demonstrates them as being homogeneous, ignoring the variability among their communities. Thus, such studies, which generalising about communication style in Arabic, can be problematic in that:

They represent generalizations that are drawn from non-empirical models (e.g. Hall, 1976) and often from personal experiences and impressions rather than empirical data. In addition, such descriptions present Arabic and English linguistic and cultural patterns as neatly homogeneous, overlooking the differences that exist among the various communities in terms of status, gender, and context. Cross-cultural examinations of communication style and patterns should be based on data, systematically collected and analyzed, that take into account status, gender, and context (Al Batal et al., 2002: 41).

In order to illustrate the danger of generalising about communicational style across Arab societies, I consider a study carried out by Merkin (2012), which aims to investigate the concepts of ‘facework’ in Israel and Syria.

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<sup>76</sup> According to Katriel (1986: 112), *musayra* can be associated with certain circumstances such as “one does *musayra* to a sick child; a man will do *musayra* to his wife when she is upset; one will do always *musayra* to a stranger in one’s community”.

### 3.7.5.1. Critique of Stereotypes of Arabic Politeness

Merkin's (2012) study investigates Israeli and Syrian concepts of facework. She points out that Israelis are often seen as direct, aggressive and competitive. In contrast, Syrians, like all other Arabs, are often perceived by certain researchers (e.g. Hofstede, 1980) as indirect and valuing harmony. Merkin argues that the Israeli facework strategy choices are based on their cultural individualism and low-power/distance tendencies, while the Syrian strategy choices are caused by their cultural collectivism and high-power/distance tendencies.<sup>77</sup> In contrast to this stereotype, the findings of Merkin's study show that Israelis value harmony more than expected. Merkin points out that the negotiations between Israel and Syria have proved vital in recent years, as Israel has refused to allow any third party to enter these negotiations. Merkin asserts that the difference between the cultural orientations of Israelis and Syrians has led to conflict between these two nations. For example, Merkin argues that Israelis, based on their individualist, low-power/distance orientation, prefer direct facework, whereas Syrians, having collectivist, high-power/distance values, tend to use indirect strategies. Therefore, in her study, Merkin attempts to explore the communication differences between Israel and Syria by examining the influence of cultural background and ideologies on facework in both societies.

Merkin examines how individualism/collectivism and power distance tendencies affect the perceptions of face and facework in Israel and Syria. Merkin explains that Hofstede (1980) used these cultural orientations to develop his theory of 'cultural dimensions'. This theory explains "the shared views that individuals acquire by growing up in a particular

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<sup>77</sup>Lustig (1988: 58) argues that "Power distance indicates the degree to which the culture believes that institutional and organizational power should be distributed unequally".

country” (Merkin, 2012: 114). Accordingly, she argues that Hofstede’s theory can offer a good framework for investigating the differences between Israel and Syria and explain why previous negotiations between the two nations have failed.

Merkin maintains that, in contrast to Israel, which is categorized by Hofstede as an individualist culture, Syria is classified with other Arabic-speaking cultures because “there were not enough observations in Hofstede’s original study to run statistics on Syria alone” (2012: 114). According to Merkin, Arab face is often associated with personal dignity, so Syrian is classified, like all other Arab countries, as a collectivist and high-power/distance culture. However, Merkin’s study is built on her personal expectations and impressions rather than on empirical study. This raises questions regarding the extent to which the findings she gained through her study are accurate. She relies on Hofstede’s classification which classifies all Arab societies, including Syria, as collectivist cultures, as if it is simple to make generalisations about them. Furthermore, as I mentioned earlier, this way of explaining the conventions of different cultures is inadequate, because collectivist tendencies occur in all societies, albeit to different extents.

Merkin also argues that people with a high-power/distance orientation (such as Syrians) “tend to accept inequality in the allocation of power and human rights” and also “tend to be less responsive to unfair treatment and less likely to voice concerns over inequality” (2012: 117). On the contrary, people in low-power/distance societies (such as Israelis) “view the world as fundamentally just...Therefore, injustice is simply not expected in low-power/distance cultures” (2012: 117). In my view, this claim is inaccurate, because it is irrational to suppose that people can accept injustice, inequality and unfair treatment simply because they are assumed to belong to a specific cultural background. These

phenomena are not accepted by any human being. However, it is true that, in some (if not most) Arab countries, there are many problems in terms of human rights, but this can be attributed to the dictatorial regimes that govern these societies rather than their supposed cultural essences. Thus, we can say that there are other factors that force Arab people to keep silent about injustice and unfairness other than their cultural background.

Merkin claims that both Israelis and Syrians have different facework strategies choices. In particular, her results reveal that Israelis tend to be direct, aggressive, and competitive, but to value harmony more than is supposed, whereas Syrians tend to use indirect facework strategies. Due to these differences, Merkin (2012: 123) suggests that “one or both parties need to modify their communication differences or keep in mind that their communication may offend the other party. In addition, attempts should be made by both parties to view communication differences as cultural artefacts and to try not to take the impression-management communication they are experiencing personally”. However, I am doubtful whether the different cultural face-saving communication strategies of the Israeli and Syrian negotiations have any real influence on the investigations’ success, because, as we know, there have been many successful peaceful negotiations between Israel and other Arab countries (such as Egypt and Jordan). Thus, the disagreements between Syria and Israel are more ideological in nature than due simply to communication strategies and politeness.

On the whole, we can say that Arab and British cultures, just like all others, are variable, heterogeneous diverse and complex. People from both cultures belong to various communities which are divided along the lines of education, wealth, lineage and status. Thus, it is difficult to make generalisations about all Arabic- or English-speaking cultures, since they consist of different cultural groups which are not homogeneous. This diversity within

both cultures can be related to many factors, such as age, sex, educational background, status, class and so on. However, it might be possible to describe some of the ideologies that are responsible for the sense of shared language activities among the speakers within both communities.

### **3.8. Conclusion**

This chapter has investigated the notion of culture and its relation to politeness. Reviewing several definitions of culture revealed that identifying a simple definition of this phenomenon is not possible, due to the diversity of conceptions and views of what constitutes culture. I have chosen to adopt a discursive approach to the definition of culture, which is perceived as dynamic and complex according to this view. The notion of identity was discussed here as it has received significant attention in recent years from many scholars, albeit its relation to culture is controversial. Although many cultural classification studies (e.g. Hofstede's (1991) individualism-collectivism classification) have been widely used, they are shown to be insufficient in explaining cross-cultural differences, because they are built on personal impressions rather than on empirical studies.<sup>78</sup> Such approaches simply characterise cultures into certain groups which are supposed to have specific norms ignoring the variability within and between cultures. Grouping people in such a way can lead to generalisations about specific behaviour as being the norm within a group and, consequently, being stereotyped. In order to avoid the problems of stereotyping and generalisation, I have chosen to use a discursive approach because it seems to provide a sound analytical framework for this work,

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<sup>78</sup> Some of these studies will be discussed in chapter 4.

which involves a contrastive study between Libyan Arabic and British English cultures, without falling prey to stereotyping.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>There are many other reasons, discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, regarding why I used this approach as a framework for this study.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Definition and Functions of (In)directness**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter focuses on directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness. The main research question this chapter addresses is to what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness, and directness and impoliteness. I start the chapter in section 4.2. by attempting to define the concept of directness and indirectness I then move on, in section 4.3, to discuss the relationship between (in)directness and politeness, by reviewing some views which associate indirectness positively with politeness, and which consider directness to be impolite. Following this, in section 4.4., I examine the issue of whether or not (in)directness serves the same function cross-culturally. Then, and due to its multiple functions, which cannot simply be restricted to politeness, the motivations for indirectness will be the focus of section 4.5. I then review some cross-cultural studies on indirectness and discuss the cultural specificity of this phenomenon in different cultures in section 4.6. The relationship between indirectness and impoliteness will be discussed in section 4.7. and, in the final part of this chapter, I conclude by presenting some studies of Arabic which are concerned with (in)directness and politeness in different Arab countries. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to show that the relationship between indirectness and politeness is complex, and cannot only be seen as a means by which imposition can be avoided.

#### **4.2. Definition of Directness and Indirectness**

The most fundamental question concerns what exactly indirectness is, and how it can be distinguished from directness. Despite the great effort that has been expended in order to

define indirectness adequately, there is no consensus among theorists regarding its precise meaning. Searle (1969), for instance, argues that speaker intention is the most important premise. He proposes that speakers try to communicate their intentions to make the hearers do something for them. In Searle's words: "[i]n speaking I attempt to communicate certain things to my hearer by getting him to recognize my intention to recognize just those things" (Searle, 1969: 43). Therefore, according to Searle "it is possible to perform the act without invoking an explicit illocutionary force indicating device where the context and the utterance make it clear that the essential condition is satisfied" (Searle, 1969: 68), and this constitutes indirectness. Searle (1975) also draws a distinction between direct and indirect speech acts. He suggests that, in some utterances, what is said is different from what is meant; accordingly, he proposes a distinction between two situations in which a speech act is performed: in the first situation a (direct speech act) "the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says" (1975: 59), whereas the other situation (indirect speech act) is the case "in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another" (1975: 60). He views indirect speech acts as a combination of two acts: a primary illocutionary act and a secondary illocutionary act; "the secondary illocutionary act is literal; the primary illocutionary act is not-literal" (1975: 62). This distinction between the literal meaning and the actual meaning has been adopted by many other researchers; Brown and Levinson (1987), for example, describe indirectness as "any communicative behaviour ...that conveys something more than or different from what it literally means" (1987: 134). Thomas (1995) also perceives it as "a mis-match between expressed meaning and implied meaning" (1995: 119). However, such a view accepts uncritically the existence of the literal meaning of utterances. Levinson, for instance, suggests that, if we believe in literal meaning, "[t]he basic problem that then arises is that *most* usages are indirect" (1983: 264). Thus, most

communication would be categorized as indirect and, accordingly, the distinction between directness and indirectness could not actually be made.

For Pinker (2007), indirectness is “the phenomenon in which a speaker says something he does not literally mean, knowing that the hearer will interpret it as intended” (2007: 437). This definition is problematic, because it assumes that indirectness is clear and unambiguous enough to guide the hearer easily to the intended meaning without the need for any degree of cognitive effort or inferential work to be undertaken in order to interpret the speaker’s intention. However, the degree of ambiguity may vary from one utterance to another. Thus, there is no guarantee that the hearer will reach the right inference in all cases.<sup>80</sup>

Sperber and Wilson (1986) treat indirectness in a similar way. They suggest that the distinction between directness and indirectness, which has been suggested by Speech Act theory, should be abandoned. From their point of view, all utterances are indirect, because they always require a degree of inferential work. Similarly, Wierzbicka (2003) proposes that there is no need to make a distinction between directness and indirectness, because of the similarity between direct requests (such as imperatives) and indirect requests (such as conventionally indirect commands); for her there is no obvious difference between these two categories. Wierzbicka argues that this distinction has been mainly based on Western views; consequently, a clear distinction between the two notions has not been made in relation to other cultures. She claims that “it is widely assumed that if one says to somebody *Close the door!* this is a ‘direct’ speech-act, whereas if one says *Could you close the door?* or *Would*

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<sup>80</sup>There is also the problem of what is the right inference for indirectness.

*you mind closing the door?* this is an ‘indirect’ speech-act. But although these particular examples may seem clear, it is by no means clear how the distinction in question should be applied to other phenomena and to other languages” (Wierzbicka, 2003: 88). Thus, what constitute directness or indirectness differs from one language to another.<sup>81</sup>

Holtgraves (1997) deals with indirectness on the basis of the amount of inferential work that is needed to interpret it. For him, some indirect utterances can be identified easily without cognitive effort. For example, ‘can you shut the door’ can be recognized directly as a conventional indirect request, so little interpretation is required. However, this assumption seems to be culturally specific, as it is based on an English view. We do not know to what extent it extends to other cultures, since the English ways of forming indirect requests might be misinterpreted by speakers of other languages (such as French and Russian, as I will show below) where such utterances may be understood as a question of the ability to do something, rather than as a request (Thomas, 2006). Holtgraves also proposes that the type of inferential process that is required to interpret the intended meaning of other types of indirectness depends on the degree of ambiguity involved in the utterances. For example, the amount of cognitive effort that is required to recognize non-conventional indirect requests, such as ‘it is warm in here’, might be less than the amount needed to interpret other types of indirect utterances that involve a high degree of ambiguity. I would agree that some indirect meanings are more ambiguous than others, and thus the degree of inferential processing can vary from one utterance to another. However, the cultural dimension should be taken into consideration in terms of determining the degree of vagueness of indirect meanings. For example, some

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<sup>81</sup> However, Grainger (2011, 173) as a Western researcher, also argues that the “notion of ‘conventional’ indirectness is not a useful one whether or not the relationship between linguistic forms and intended meaning is conventional is culturally specific”.

participants from different cultures might deal with indirectness in different ways, so what might be seen as ambiguous, thus requiring a great deal of inferential work in certain cultures, may be perceived as conventional in others (see Grainger, 2011).

Some theorists (Merkin, 2012; Albatal *et al*, 2002), however, assume that it is simple to interpret the specific meaning of indirectness and identify the difference between directness and indirectness. Merkin (2012), for instance, suggests that directness is simply the opposite of indirectness. She states that direct talk “is frank and clear-cut, whereas indirect communication involves hints, oblique suggestions, or third-party communications” (2012: 115). However, defining these two terms in this simplistic way is inadequate; as there is still no agreement amongst scholars regarding their precise meaning. Al Batal *et al*. (2002) see indirectness as a matter of degree of explicitness. For them, a direct style “refers to explicitly stating one’s feeling, wants and needs; the speaker says what he or she means” (2002: 40) while an indirect style, according to Al Batal *et al*. (2002), can be explained through the definition suggested by Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988) which refers to “verbal messages that camouflage and conceal speakers’ true intentions in terms of their wants, needs, and goals in the discourse situation” (cited in Al Batal *et al*.2002: 40). However, this definition is similar to the distinction that has been made between direct and indirect speech acts (discussed above), and it therefore suffers from similar weaknesses. Morgan (2009), by contrast, argues that indirectness can be seen as a frame for inferring the multiple meanings of speaker’s utterance. Morgan maintains that “indirectness is a typical and predictable strategy in making meanings in everyday interactions” (2009: 283), so it is up to the other participants in the interaction to infer and recognise the assumptions of indirectness. However, Morgan points out that addressees’ response might be open to an interpretation of a

lack of cooperation; consequently, social face might be at risk if some participants do not recognise and acknowledge indirectness.

Grainger (2011) argues that, in our attempts to define indirectness, we should take into consideration the possibility of variations of indirectness. Thus, we need to determine which types of utterances can be counted as indirect. For example, linguistically, a distinction has been made between three strategies of directness. These are: direct strategies, conventionally indirect strategies and non-conventional strategies. In the first form, the speaker says what s/he wants directly (for example, 'open the window'); in the second form, the speaker says what s/he wants indirectly (for example, 'Could you possibly open the window?'); whereas, in the third form, the speaker does not say what s/he wants but rather, offers hints, assuming that the hearer will infer his/her intended meaning. For instance, when someone comes into the room and says 'it's really hot in here!' s/he expects that the addressee will 'take up' the hint as a request to open the window. Grainger (2014) argues that when the British, for example, are described as being 'indirect', this refers to conventional formulations such as 'would you mind...?'. For Grainger, 'conventional indirectness' should be dealt with under Brown and Levinson's (1987) notion of negative politeness. Thus, conventionalised formulations are "better described as routine negative politeness while hints and other strategies that are not explicitly expressed in language should be referred to as 'off record'" (Grainger, 2011: 177). Thus, she suggests that the study of indirectness should be restricted to 'off-record' strategies, since they can "allow for more than one interpretation, where at least one meaning has to be arrived at through inference" (2011: 189). I would agree that using the term 'indirectness' should be restricted to the types of utterances that require a certain amount of inferential work. However, such types are not easily identified, as many factors (e.g. cultural background, familiarity amongst participants, situation of the

participants, context and so on) play a role in determining which utterances are classified as 'indirect'. Therefore, in this study, I will confine myself to those types of indirectness which involve a degree of inference and relatively implicit meanings, taking into consideration the different factors that might affect this process (e.g. contextual and cultural factors).

#### **4.3. (In)directness and Politeness: Theory and Practice**

Most of the work within the traditional politeness theories, which focuses on issues of indirectness, argues for a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. Brown and Levinson (1987), for instance, view politeness as a way of avoiding Face Threatening Acts (FTA) (discussed in chapter 3). They argue that speakers tend to use indirect speech-acts rather than the imperative in order to make them less face-threatening. They propose a distinction between four main strategies selected by speakers: a bald on-record strategy, which is a direct imperative; a positive politeness strategy, which "anoints the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S[peaker] wants H[earer]'s wants"; a negative politeness strategy, which "is essentially avoidance-based and consist(s)...in assurances that the speaker...will not interfere with the addressee's freedom of action"; and an off-record strategy, where an FTA is avoided by using implicit or vague forms of speech (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 75). Brown and Levinson rank these strategies according to the degree of politeness of each one, with the off-record strategy the most face-saving, then the negative, followed by the positive and finally the bald on-record. To be polite, therefore, is to avoid Face Threatening Acts. This means that all direct speech-acts are considered to be FTAs, and consequently they are impolite. Brown and Levinson describe these strategies as universal and applicable to all languages.

Leech (1983) also holds the same perspective in respect of equating politeness with indirectness. Although he recognises cultural differences across cultures, he contends that indirect illocutions are more polite than direct ones, as they raise the level of 'optionality' and reduce the force of the illocutions on the hearer. In Leech's words: "Indirect illocutions tend to be more polite (a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be" (Leech, 1983:108). Leech goes further to claim that indirect speech-acts (such as, 'can you pass the salt') are understood as requests rather than questions because "the direct and indirect interpretations of such utterances are respectively their semantic and pragmatic interpretations" (Leech, 1980: 7). Leech seems to be unaware that there are differences between languages and what holds for English does not necessarily hold for all languages. What he fails to take into consideration is that, in some cultures, indirect illocutions can increase "the interpretive demands on the hearer" (Blum-Kulka, 1987: 133). Thus, politeness cannot be clearly associated with indirect illocutions. Furthermore, Leech does not even suspect that indirect speech-acts (which are argued to be often used by English speakers to indicate politeness) may be interpreted differently or even misinterpreted in other languages. If their interpretations do differ, then indirect illocutions cannot be of universal applicability.

Searle (1975) argues that the main motivation for indirectness is to avoid directness, as he equates politeness with indirectness and views directness as 'awkward' in social interaction. In Searle's words, "ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperative sentences (e.g. leave the room) or explicit performatives (e.g. I order you to leave the room), and we therefore seek to find indirect means to our illocutionary ends (e.g. I wonder if you would mind leaving the room), in directives, politeness is the chief motivation for indirectness" (1975: 64). Therefore, he



considers some forms of direct speech, such as directives as “attempts...by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They may be very modest ‘attempts’ as when I invite you to do it or suggest that you do it, or they may be very fierce attempts as when I insist that you do it” (1979: 13). This means that insistence is regarded as an impolite act, since it might restrict the options open to the hearer for doing the thing that the speaker wants.

Thus, directness is traditionally seen as a dispreferred form of speech due to the potential imposition on the hearer. Therefore, indirectness is seen to be used for the following two main reasons: the first, indirectness is used to avoid impositions that might be triggered by using direct speech, which is described as ‘awkward’ (Searle, 1975); the second and, most importantly, indirectness opens up options for the hearer while directness does not (Leech, 1983). Such claims, which are based on Western views, portray British politeness as being focused more on negative politeness (Grainger et al., 2015) which makes many researchers of cross-cultural politeness take these assumptions for granted and try to show British English culture as being the polar opposite to their own cultures whose politeness, as they believe, is focused on positive politeness (e.g. Sifianou, 1992). However, such claims have been challenged by scholars and researchers (Mills and Kadar, 2011) who argue that we should not suppose that we know what function directness and indirectness play when analysing cultures, as each language may have different functions and evaluations. For example, the claim that indirectness is primarily used because it functions as a mitigating tool implies that it is the only strategy that can be used to do so, whereas there are other ways that can serve as ‘mitigations’ while using direct forms (as I show in Chapter 7). Another issue concerning directness and indirectness, which is mostly neglected in the linguistic field, is the claim that the main reason for indirectness being more polite than directness is that the former raises the

level of 'optionality' and reduces the force of the illocutions on the hearer (Leech, 1983).

Thus this assumption includes presuppositions that:

(1)- Indirectness is polite because it always opens options

Therefore,

(2)- Directness is impolite because it reduces the level of optionality

Thus,

(3)- Reducing options is impolite

That is to say, indirectness opens up options while directness reduces such options and thus it should be considered impolite. This claim is problematic for two main reasons: the first: reducing options is not necessarily seen as impolite in some cultures, such as Arabic, where it is considered appropriate or even required in some situations (e.g. offers, see Grainger et al., 2015). The second: the claim that directness always reduces options and indirectness always raises the level of optionality is inaccurate. In fact, there are some situations where people have the choice not to respond positively to the speaker's direct speech (as I will show in Chapter 7), while they, because of ideological motivations, have fewer or no choices, but answer the speaker positively, even if they speak indirectly. Another issue that is related to indirectness is its relation to politeness: indirectness can be interpreted as being manipulative (Pinker, 2007) or even impolite (Culpeper, 2011).

The conventionalised linguistic practices involved in everyday interactions, and consequently people's choices of particular forms of speech, reflect the fact that the culture normalises certain conventional elements within the cultural or linguistic group to be appropriate and thus acceptable in that social group (Grainger et al., 2015). In other words, directness can be modified or intensified according to the situations and contexts and yet still be seen as appropriate due to certain ideologies about what is conceived as appropriate.

#### 4.4. Universality of the Functions of Indirectness

Many theorists (Thomas, 1995; Levinson, 1983) point out that indirectness can be recognised cross-culturally, as it exists in all cultures. Thomas (1995), for instance, suggests that “indirectness is a universal phenomenon: as far as we know it occurs in all natural languages” (1995: 119). For some theorists (e.g. Leech, 1983), there is a direct link between indirectness and politeness, and between directness and impoliteness. Thus, the politeness principles in human interaction are seen as identical cross-culturally. The situation, however, is less simple than has been assumed by the traditional politeness models. Many researchers (as I show in section 4.6.) have indicated that the correlation between indirectness and politeness is more complicated, because such claims portray generalisations that are not drawn from empirical research, ignoring the differences that might exist between cultures, as native speakers of any language might perceive politeness differently. For example, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) claim in respect of associating indirectness with politeness and deeming directness to be a lack of consideration for the hearer’s face does not reflect different cultural values, as the politeness principles of human interactions may differ cross-culturally. Wierzbicka (1985), for example, refutes the claims for the universality of politeness, believing that the supposed characteristics of the universal principles of politeness are stereotypically English, as they are based mainly on English culture alone rather than all cultures. Wierzbicka states that such claims “are based on an ethnocentric illusion: it is not people in general who behave in the ways described, it is the speakers of English” (1985: 145). Therefore, there are different perspectives on politeness which may vary from one culture to another. Hence, rather than assuming the universality of the requirements of politeness, it should be verified whether this assumption is valid across cultures. Ogiermann (2009: 190) points out that “[a]lthough Brown and Levinson describe the social implications of speech-acts and the strategies available for performing them as universal, empirical research has shown that the pragmatic

force of syntactically and semantically equivalent utterances differs across languages". Furthermore, as Grainger (2014) argues, although indirectness (particularly 'off-record') is a notion that can be applied to all cultures, what is conventional differs from one culture to another. For example, while indirectness, in general, might be seen to be stereotypically the most polite form in English, it might be considered as impolite in other cultures, such as in Libyan Arabic, where directness is seen as more appropriate to use in everyday interactions, and indirectness is usually used for voicing criticism or offence. It should also be mentioned that what is called 'conventional indirectness' may not be considered as indirect by all English speakers, while an off-record strategy, which is argued to be the most polite form that reduces the threat to the hearer's face, can be used to attack face.<sup>82</sup>

Although Thomas (1995) believes in the occurrence of indirectness (to some degree) universally, she insists that its employment varies across cultures. She suggests that people from different cultural backgrounds differ with regard to their preference for a specific type of speech which might be direct or indirect. Thomas also argues that there seem to be a number of factors that affect individuals' strategy choices in terms of the degree of indirectness they use. However, she asserts that not "all languages/cultures will employ indirectness in the same circumstances" (1995: 119); therefore, the forms of indirectness vary cross-culturally. Sifianou (1992) also argues that the correlation between indirectness and politeness should be perceived from a particular cultural view and, thus, indirectness should not be seen as the most polite form. Sifianou (1992: 119) suggests that:

Members who use indirect utterances... must share certain knowledge with the other members of their group which guarantees correct interpretation and success. If that is

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<sup>82</sup> A more detailed discussion will be provided in Chapter 6.

the case, the process of interpretation is not the lengthier and there are actually no more options really open to the addressee(s) but to conform to the request, than there would have been had the speaker used a different construction.

Hence, Sifianou proposes that we should not assume that indirectness is the most polite form in all cultures, simply because it is perceived to be more polite than other forms within particular cultures (for example, middle class British culture).

Mills (2003: 75) argues that “cultural norms make indirectness the norm within British culture and therefore it is not any more polite in itself than the use of directness in other cultures where indirectness is not the norm” (2003: 75). Thus, we cannot make any assertion for the universality of a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. In this context, we can say that every human culture has its own aspects of politeness which may be distinguished from other cultures. As Watts (2003) puts it: “In all cultures we will meet forms of social behaviour that we can classify as culturally specific forms of consideration for others” (Watts, 2003: 30). This means that no one specific system of politeness is more polite than other systems; rather, there are different culture-specific concepts and values that make a particular system more or less the norm within a specific culture. Furthermore, politeness is argued to be one motivation for indirectness; other motivations are illustrated in the following section.

#### **4.5. Motivations for the use of indirectness**

The most common reason for using indirectness, as discussed above, is politeness. Intuitively, motivations for indirectness cannot be restricted only to politeness. For example, Thomas (1995) suggests that, besides politeness, indirectness can be motivated by one (or more) of the following reasons:

1-Being interesting: people sometimes choose indirectness to convey their messages in a way that reflects their enjoyment of having fun with language. To use Thomas' example, which explains a World War II pilot's description of a Shackleton aircraft as follows:

### **Example 1**

*20,000 rivets flying in loose formation (1995: 143)*

Thomas argues that the speaker could have chosen to describe the aircraft in a more direct way. This would have guaranteed that his message was conveyed, but in this case it would have been less interesting.

2- Increase the influence of the conveyed message: Thomas proposes that indirectness can increase the effectiveness of the speaker's message which needs some inferential work to interpret its intended meaning. The following example illustrates this point well:

### **Example 2**

The Yemeni female speaker describes to her Yemeni friend the heat in Aden (a Yemeni city) when she visited it (both participants live in the UK):

*...I was shocked because of the heat because I was melting*

The speaker as a human being in fact could not have literally been melted by the heat of the sun. The speaker could have described the heat in Aden as 'extremely hot'. This would have conveyed her message perfectly, but she chose to convey her message indirectly, because she wanted to increase the force of her utterance.

3- a clash of speaker goals: in this case, indirectness is used in order to achieve two goals. For example, Thomas points out that teachers must evaluate their students' work. If the students' work is not very good, the teacher usually chooses to tell them in an indirect way, to

avoid hurting their feelings. However, indirectness here still seems to be motivated by being polite. Thus, it cannot be count as a distinct motivation.<sup>83</sup>

Thomas' explanation, indeed, adds to our understanding of the reasons for using indirect speech. However, more could be said about why people choose to express themselves indirectly. Pinker et.al. (2008), for example, treat direct speech as a default from which the speaker needs a reason to deviate. They also suggest that indirect speech "allow[s] for plausible deniability" (2008: 833).

That is, speakers avoid explicitness in their speech in order to avoid direct forms, because they seek to avoid full responsibility. However, Terkourafi (2011) suggests that there seem to be at least two problems with Pinker et.al.'s view. One problem is that it is not always the case that directness is the basis of speech and thus indirectness is used only when necessary. For example, Ervin-Tripp (1976) suggests that young children use indirect speech while still at an early age. According to Ervin-Tripp, "children used statements of condition frequently, possibly because small children do not at first have a well-articulated sense of what they have to do to relieve discomfort, and they rely on their caretakers to find the solution" (1976:42). To illustrate this point, Ervin-Tripp (1976: 42) provides the following examples used by children (1976: 42):

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<sup>83</sup> Although Thomas recognizes the cultural differences across cultures (as noted in 4.4.), she still treats cultures as homogenous. For example, it is not the case that teachers around the world try to mitigate the impact of telling their students the truth about their sub-standard work. From my experience as a member of an Arab community, for instance, teachers, in general, usually do not hesitate to tell students if their work is not up to standard in a direct way in Arab cultural communities. They do not use any kind of mitigation. This can be attributed to the teachers' belief that the students are responsible for their work. Thus, if the students do not work hard enough, they have to take the consequences.

### Example 3

a. *My nose is bleeding.*

b. *I hungry.*<sup>84</sup>

In the first example, the child asks for help to stop her/his nose bleeding, while in the other example the child asks for something to eat. The second problem that Terkourafi (2011) identified with this view is that indirectness cannot only be used in situations where people seek deniability. Ervin-Tripp (1976), for instance, suggests that indirect speech can also be used for the sake of abbreviation. She suggests that:

Hints appear to be prime examples of the kind of communicative abbreviation which appears in high solidarity, closed networks of communication. Unlike the case in task-centred groups in offices and laboratories, where explicitness and clarity have a value because of the focus on task, in families and compatible living groups the personal relationships are central. High frequency of communication results in shared knowledge and the possibility both of highly conventionalized forms which on the surface appear to be indirect, and of novel or humorous directives resting on shared knowledge about norms, beliefs, habits, events, and personal motives (Ervin-Tripp 1976: 44).

The main point that Ervin-Tripp underlines is that the information that the speaker wants to convey to the hearer is not restricted to their immediate context. Rather, it is based on the previous historical background knowledge that they share in order to convey more information than the context involves. Indirectness can play a central role in this process. Ervin-Tripp points out that “the work of the hearer need not begin with the utterance, but that the set or priming of the hearer can be so great that a nod is a directive” (1976:59). Terkourafi (2011) also refuses to treat indirectness as a secondary option. Instead, speakers in some cases choose to speak indirectly when they do not have to. Terkourafi points out that “indirect

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<sup>84</sup> However, this is not the type of indirectness which I attempt to discuss in the current study. My focus is on far more ambiguous meanings.



speech can sometimes be a convenient shorthand for an entire array of meanings that may be too cumbersome, or even impossible, to spell out fully. This is especially true between intimates, when the hearer can be counted on to arrive at a lot of those meanings alone based on his/her shared stock of assumptions with the speaker” (Terkourafi: 2011: 2870). This is to say, due to an assumed shared linguistic repertoire, interlocutors sometimes choose to speak implicitly simply because explicitness is not needed in such situations. In her earlier work, Terkourafi (2005) argues that such assumptions can hold true for members of the same community where certain strategies are conventionalised through sharing similar experiences of using such strategies over time.

Therefore, some theorists argue for discussing indirectness from a cultural perspective. Zhang (2009), for example, suggests, that in Asian cultures, indirectness can be used in everyday interactions in order to maintain harmonious relationships. According to Zhang, different motives for indirectness can be found in Asian cultures, which include: politeness, self-protection, humour, rejection or denial, all of which are used in order to accomplish certain goals (such as to avoid embarrassment, maintain social harmony and so on). However, Grainger (2014) maintains that, although indirectness has functions other than politeness, especially in cross-cultural contexts, even within the same culture, it can be used for politeness in some situations but to insult someone in others. For example, Pinker (2007), Kiesling and Johnson (2010), and Culpeper (2011) suggest that indirectness can be used to express impoliteness and manipulation, because it serves as a mask behind which one can attack face while being deniable. In this context, Culpeper (2011) compares two different views regarding the degree of offence and the form (i.e. direct or indirect) which is employed to cause it. The first view which is adopted by Brown and Levinson (1987) who suggest that there is a positive correlation between the degree of offence and directness, that is, “the more

indirectly the impoliteness is triggered the less the offence taken” (Brown and Levinson 1987; cited by Culpeper, 2011:184). The other view put forward by Leech (1983) links the degree of offence to directness. However, Leech perceives this relationship in a different way. That is, “the more indirectly the impoliteness is triggered the greater the offence taken” (Leech 1983; cited by Culpeper, 2011: 185). Culpeper argues that it is not a matter of directness that determines the degree of offence. Rather, the role of context is the key factor in this process. That is, “[i]f the context is weighing heavily towards an impolite interpretation, then the balance tips towards Leech’s hypothesis” (Culpeper, 2011: 185). As such, indirectness can sometimes be more impolite than directness, and thus does not guarantee politeness. However, Grainger (2011: 178) argues that, although “indirectness that is perceived as manipulative and rude is not polite in the sense of first-order politeness”, it is still “‘technically’ polite since it may still be doing facework”, since it involves avoidance behaviour. Thus, even insults and manipulation can be regarded as facework.

Indirectness, thus, should not be treated merely as a means used by people in order to indicate politeness towards others, because this view narrows its wide range of applications. It is worth noting that all of the views discussed in this section provide invaluable insights into evaluating the participants’ use of indirect speech in communication, and how it can be interpreted differently within a certain context. However, the motivations that lead interactants to speak indirectly in a particular culture (e.g. for the sake of politeness) perhaps do not motivate the use of indirectness in another. Furthermore, the forms of indirectness that are used for the same reason may vary from culture to culture.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, the motives for

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<sup>85</sup> For example, indirect requests which are used for the sake of politeness in English might be different from those that are used for the same reason in Zimbabwean culture (as I have shown in 3.5.2.).

employing indirectness, if they exist, should be examined more specifically in each culture separately instead of simply applying the way in which indirectness is stereotypically viewed in English<sup>86</sup> to other cultures, because cultures may have other interpretations of what constitutes indirectness.<sup>87</sup> Thus, indirectness can be argued to serve complex functions which cannot be restricted to politeness alone. In the following section, I will discuss how indirectness may function and be judged as impoliteness.

#### **4.6. Indirectness and Impoliteness**

As discussed in 4.3., the traditional politeness theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983) suggest that indirect strategies are more polite than direct ones, deeming ‘off-record’ the most polite form. However, an off-record strategy (such as hints) can be rated as a less polite form of politeness in some societies (e.g. German), because it forces the hearer to make a cognitive effort to understand the speaker’s intended meaning (House, 2012). Furthermore, in some cases, off-record can be viewed as extremely rude (Pinker, 2007). This indicates that off-record strategies should not simply be associated with politeness in all contexts. However, empirical work on investigating the use of indirectness to cause offence has been very rare (Culpeper, 2011).<sup>88</sup> I will now discuss Culpeper’s (2011) notion of ‘implicational impoliteness’ (where impoliteness can be conveyed implicitly through indirect forms of speech) as I will use this as a framework for investigating the relationship between

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<sup>86</sup> However, in English, there are some situations where directness is evaluated positively (as I will show in chapter 7), so directness is not necessarily always associated with rudeness in English.

<sup>87</sup> Although this is not to say that every culture is unique in having its own language-specific means of expressing indirectness that cannot be found in any other culture.

<sup>88</sup> Here, I mean the kind of indirectness that is used intentionally to cause offence, not the polite forms of indirectness that are misinterpreted, as is the case with off-record strategies that are seen as impolite forms in some cultures (such as Germany), even if used for polite purposes.

indirectness and impoliteness. Culpeper (2011) classifies ‘implicational impoliteness’ into three main groups. They are:

**1-Form-driven:** By form-driven, Culpeper is referring to “form-driven triggers for implication/inferential impoliteness except for cases that are conventionally impolite” (2011: 155). This form deals with different phenomena of impoliteness, such as “‘insinuation’, ‘innuendo’, ‘casting aspersions’, ‘digs’, ‘snide comments/remarks’, and so on” (2011: 156). Culpeper points out that, despite the differences between these terms, they all still refer to an implicit message which is performed by ‘formal surface’ which can be interpreted as an insult by particular people. He argues that this type of impoliteness can be explained through the off-record politeness super-strategy which is described by Brown and Levinson, but with two main differences: first, “the inference results in the ascription of impoliteness...and not politeness”; second, it differs in “the degree to which an alternative ‘polite’ interpretation is possible” (2011: 157).<sup>89</sup>

**2- Convention-driven:** everyday terms for this form include: ‘sarcasm’, ‘teasing’, and certain other terms whose aim is humorous. Culpeper assumes that these terms involve mixed messages which may lead to confusion. That is, “they mix features that point towards a polite interpretation and features that point towards an impolite interpretation” (2011: 165-6). This type involves two main groups:

(a) Internal: “the context projected by part of a behaviour mismatches that projected by another part” (2011: 155). This includes examples that mix conventionalised politeness and conventionalised impoliteness formulae. For instance, to use Culpeper’s example, ‘could

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<sup>89</sup> It is worth saying that form-driven implicational impoliteness type is one way that can be used in expressing impoliteness in Libyan culture. However, it might be more complicated than Culpeper has supposed, as the participants have more choices to convey their messages implicitly using this strategy, as I show in Chapter 7.

you just fuck off' (2011: 166). So, expressions like 'could you...', which are seen as intrinsically polite forms by traditional politeness theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson), can be used to cause offence in certain contexts.

(b) External: the context projected by behaviour mismatches the context of use. (Culpeper, 2011: 155). That is, the literal conventionalised meaning mismatches the speaker's actual meaning, (e.g. sarcasm). In this case, the participants rely on pragmatic meaning to interpret the hidden impolite message behind polite words uttered, as when using 'thank you' sarcastically.

**3-Context-driven:** the impoliteness that Culpeper is dealing with here includes examples that do not involve mismatches with conventionalised politeness formulae. As such, "impoliteness interpretation is primarily driven by the strong expectations flowing from the context" (2011: 180).<sup>90</sup> Culpeper organises this type into two groups:

a- Unmarked behaviour: "an unmarked (with respect to surface form or semantic content) and unconventionalised behaviour mismatches the context" (Culpeper, 2011: 156). For example, violation of what is socially acceptable can be seen as impolite. For instance, Culpeper (2011) mentions an example in which a mother ordered her daughter to do things which were seen as irritating by the daughter, who regarded herself as being old enough to be responsible for her actions. So although it is acceptable to use direct language with children, in such cases, according to Culpeper, it is not considered acceptable.

(b) Absence of behaviour: "the absence of behaviour mismatches the context" (2011: 156). That is, the absence of certain behaviour that is expected to be performed by an

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<sup>90</sup> Some examples are provided in Chapter 7.

interlocutor in certain contexts can be perceived as impolite (e.g. keeping silent when expected to talk).

The question that needs to be asked is: why do people choose an implicational impoliteness strategy to indicate impoliteness rather than direct forms? In my view, participants choose this strategy due to one (or more) of the following possible reasons:

1- By using implicational impoliteness, someone can perform face-attacking actions with less fear of retaliation but, if the speaker uses clear, direct impoliteness, they are more likely (in normal circumstances) to receive a strong response by forcing the hearer to react and cause face loss in return. In other words, they are more likely to have face-attack met by face-attack.<sup>91</sup>

2- To avoid being characterised as an impolite person. As Culpeper (2011) points out, there is a tendency to link an individual's behaviour to their character rather than to the situation so, in my view, they avoid direct forms, because these are more obvious than implicational forms for indicating impoliteness.

3- Implicational impoliteness reduces the number of options open to the hearer to defend themselves. For example, if someone says to an individual 'you are a liar', the receiver (in normal circumstances) is more likely to defend themselves, but if the offender uses a general statement and says, for example, 'I know many people who lie all the time' and intends to refer to the hearer, it is more likely that the hearer will not retaliate, even if

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<sup>91</sup>However, factors such as power and cultural background should, of course, be taken into account

s/he recognizes that his/her face is being attacked, because in so doing, s/he is admitting that s/he is a liar.<sup>92</sup>

4- Denying the responsibility for impolite behaviour. Implicational impoliteness is open to different interpretations. Thus, the offender can deny the intention of causing damage to the hearer and can attribute this to misunderstanding.<sup>93</sup>

5- Implicational impoliteness can serve as a mask for serious criticism that enables the speaker to avoid potential consequences. This can be illustrated by the interactions between people of different power status, such as superiors and subordinates in the workplace. Humour (as a type of implicational impoliteness), for instance “can... serve as a shield for more serious criticism of a superior and as a cloak for the expression of ‘socially risky’ opinions by subordinates” (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003: 120). Thus, the person in a subordinate role can convey implicit criticism to the superior with less fear of retribution.

Indirectness, then, is a multifunctional means which can be used for different purposes (polite or impolite), but it can also be neutral (neither polite nor impolite) because explicitness sometimes is simply not needed among interactants in certain situations, due to a shared repertoire.<sup>94</sup> Thus, we cannot simply assume that indirectness is inherently polite, because, even within cultures which are usually classified stereotypically as indirect (such as British English), indirectness can be used to cause offence, while directness can be evaluated

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<sup>92</sup> However, this is not to say that the hearer has no option at all to defend themselves, but they might use the same indirect strategy that is used by the speaker. Furthermore, this strategy seems to be an Arabic culture-specific strategy, as it seems, according to Culpeper’s discussion and the data I collected, that it is not used in British English to any extent.

<sup>93</sup> It is worth noting that, in some cases, the hearer does genuinely misunderstand the speaker’s intention.

<sup>94</sup> Examples are provided in Chapter 7.

positively in some situations.<sup>95</sup> To this extent, it would be useful to consider some examples from a variety of cultures in order to illustrate how different cultural concepts with regard to politeness can be attributed to the specific cultural norms within each particular culture.

#### **4.6. The Culture-Specificity of (In)directness.**

Ogiermann (2009) suggests that people differ in terms of whether they express politeness directly or indirectly in accordance with their belonging to a particular country or nation. She, for instance, associates indirectness differences with the geographical position of the countries, suggesting that direct imperatives are more likely to be used for making requests in Western European countries (such as England and Germany) than in Eastern ones (such as Poland and Russia). Sifianou (1992) also points out that “Greeks tend to use more positive politeness devices than the English, who prefer more negative politeness devices” (1992: 2). Sifianou argues that positive politeness in Greece should not be considered less polite but, rather, should be seen from a culture-specific perspective.

Whereas politeness in English culture is argued to be associated with indirectness, there are many studies which assume that there is no obvious correlation between them in many other cultures where, in fact, politeness is closely related to directness. For instance, Pavlidou (2000) claims that, in Germany, directness is not judged as an impolite feature of behaviour at all but, rather, it is seen as a way of expressing politeness, because for Germans direct speech emphasizes the expression of familiarity and displays respect. Pavlidou argues that “there are numerous ways of attending to the relationship aspect of communication, e.g. phatic communication, redundancy, negative politeness, talk about the relationship itself, and

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<sup>95</sup> Examples will be provided in Chapters 6 and 7.



also strategies of directness which may result in the omission of all the previous strategies. Which way is opted for presumably depends not only on the phase of the conversation, but also on cultural factors” (Pavlidou, 2000: 138). Thus, Pavlidou seems to suggest that directness in Germany should not be considered less polite (as Levinson, 1983 assumes).<sup>96</sup> Rather, it should be seen from a culture-specific perspective, so Germans are polite in a different way due to the different conception of politeness in their culture.

Germany is not an exceptional case. For example, Thomas (2006) also emphasizes the Russian preference for direct speech. She gives a number of examples of Russian imperatives in order to illustrate that certain speech-act types (which might be perceived as impolite in British English) are viewed as polite in Russia. Thomas suggests that, in contrast to the British English, which she suggests has a tendency to use indirect speech-act forms, in Russian society, there is a tendency to use a high degree of directness. Thomas (1983) argues that “polite usage in Russian permits many more direct imperatives than does English” (1983: 36). Thomas (2006) goes on to suggest that English ways of expressing politeness might be misinterpreted by speakers of other languages who have a different conception of politeness. She states that “*can you X* is a highly conventionalized politeness form in British English likely to be interpreted by native speakers as a *request* to do X. But in other languages, French and Russian, for example, the opposite is true” (2006: 35). Such utterances, thus, may be interpreted in different ways in different cultures.

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<sup>96</sup>Levinson (1983) argues for a positive correlation between indirectness and politeness. He supposes that, because some cultures are considered to be more direct than English culture, their speakers are less polite than English speakers. Levinson suggests that “German speakers seem to be significantly more direct, or less polite, in requests and complaints than English speakers” (1983: 376).

Direct forms are also argued to be used widely to express politeness in speech-acts in Korean society. Byon (2006) carried out a survey among Korean informants in order to examine “the link between politeness and the indirectness of speech-acts by analyzing Korean request head act forms” (2006: 247). According to the findings of this empirical study, Byon argues that the concept of politeness in Korean culture is indicated via directness in conversation rather than by indirectness. He claims that this study enabled him to prove “that the *basic directive*, the most direct strategy, is the most frequently used request across all situations”. Accordingly “linguistic indirectness did not seem to be a significant factor for Koreans in the communication of politeness” (Byon, 2006: 270). As a consequence, directness in Korean society is less imposing or face-threatening than it might be in English.

Kyong-Ae Yu (2011) goes even further, maintaining that, while imposition is avoided in some cultures (e.g. English), because it is perceived as impolite behaviour, it is preferable action in other cultures (e.g. Korean and Japanese), because “in these cultures, imposition to ask to receive or to do the favour of doing X is a polite act” (2011: 389). According to Yu’s research, which aims to investigate the relationship between indirectness and politeness in Korean, English and Hebrew, and examine the link between the two notions cross-culturally, there seems to be some agreement amongst the three language groups with regard to judging the degree of (in)directness of utterances. For example, want statements (such as imperatives) were judged to be the most direct form in the three language groups. However, while they are seen as polite in Korean, in English and Hebrew, they are perceived as impolite strategies. Another different ranking can be found with regard to hints; these strategies are perceived as the most indirect form in the three languages. However, while, in English and Hebrew, hints are seen as the most polite strategy for requests, they are seen as impolite strategies in Korean. There appears then to be some language specific variability in the forms and

meanings of indirectness among the three cultures; thus, “the ratings of the politeness scale reveal cross-cultural variations” (Yu, 2011: 399).

In a similar way, Wierzbicka (1985) carried out research into the ways in which Polish and English people perceive politeness by examining the differences between the two languages in performing speech acts. She suggests that, unlike English, in Polish society, “the bare imperative is used on a much wider scale” (Wierzbicka, 1985: 150). The differences between the two languages, according to Wierzbicka, should be associated with culture-specific factors: whereas English ways of speaking reflect values characteristic of English culture, Polish ways of speaking reflect the values and features of Polish culture. Wierzbicka states that “it is very important to try to link language-specific norms of interaction with specific cultural values, such as autonomy of the individual and anti-dogmatism in Anglo-Saxon culture or cordiality and warmth in Polish culture” (Wierzbicka, 1985: 184). Polish ways of speaking therefore should not be characterized as showing “dogmatism, lack of consideration for other people, inflexibility, a tendency to be bossy, a tendency to interfere, and so on” (Wierzbicka, 1985: 170), as they might be seen from an English speaker’s point of view.

Blum-Kulka (1987) also stresses the Israeli preference for directness, which seems to be evaluated positively in Israeli Hebrew. She argues that “the general level of directness in Israeli society is probably relatively very high” (Blum-Kulka, 1995; cited in Wierzbicka, 2003: 89). The ranking of the strategies of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson are also not evident in the case of Hebrew, as has been pointed out by Blum-Kulka (1992), when she conducted a survey among Israeli respondents of the ways in which Israeli people view politeness. Kampf and Blum-Kulka (2011) presume that the Israeli style of speaking derives

from their religious cultural background; that is, the dugri speaking style,<sup>97</sup> which is characterised as being “assertive, direct and sincere” (2011: 87). Israelis not only place a high value on clarity and genuineness which derive from dugri speech but also expect others to react positively to dugri comments in order to be seen as “strong and forthright” members of the Israeli community who “accept dugri talk” (Katriel, 1986: 47).

A study carried out by Matsumoto (1988) aimed to show that the notion of imposition in Brown and Levinson’s model does not apply to Japanese culture. She argues that, in Japanese society, a request such as “Doozo yoroshiku onegaishimasu”, which literally means “I ask you to please treat me well/take care of me” (1988: 409), is used by speakers to show deference towards the addressee. By using such utterances, according to Matsumoto, the speakers wish to “humble themselves and place themselves in a lower position. This is certainly typical of deferential behaviour” (1988: 410). Matsumoto further argues that the Japanese do not attempt to avoid or mitigate impositions; rather, impositions are considered to be something which enhances the face of the addressee. Matsumoto suggests that “deferent impositions can enhance the good self-image (that is, the ‘face’) of the addressee” (1988: 410). Thus, in Japan imposition is not seen as something to be avoided.

All of these studies provide invaluable insights that make it possible to assess how the participants may evaluate polite behaviour in social interactions, and how politeness can be recognised and interpreted differently according to the participants’ background within a certain society. However, as Pan (2011) argues, the majority of politeness research, which

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<sup>97</sup>Further discussion about Israeli styles of speech is provided in 3.7.5.

focuses on issues of indirectness, started with researchers applying an Anglo-American model of politeness across cultures, and raising critical issues with regard to politeness theories, particularly Brown and Levinson's (1987) work. Most researchers, as I have shown above, claim that indirectness cannot be the most frequent form of politeness in all cultures, suggesting that directness can function as polite behaviour in many societies. Although all of the researchers whose work I have discussed here have recognised these differences, empirical research into categorising different types of speech acts according to native speakers' ratings of the degree of directness has been rare. With the possible exceptions of Blum-Kulka (1987) and Yu (2011), none of these researchers even suspects that people of different cultures and languages may perceive the indirectness of certain speech-act types differently; thus, we cannot make any claims for certain types of speech-act as being direct or indirect in all cultures simply because a distinction between these types has been made in a particular culture. Mills (2003: 142) points out that "we should not assume that a declarative or order is the only way that directness can be expressed, simply because that is the way it is often expressed in English". For example, although indirectness is one of the main features which is often used to describe many Asian languages (such as Chinese and Japanese), culture-specific ways of expressing politeness in these cultures might differ from those for English; as Storti puts it, "The notorious indirectness of Asians may to a certain extent be nothing more than our inability to recognise Asian-style directness when we see it" (Storti, cited in Harris Bond et al., 2000: 48-49).<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Furthermore, most researchers discuss one type of speech act (usually requests) and then generalise the results to other types of speech act.

Another problem with these studies is that there seems to be a general assumption that societies can be simply classified as direct and indirect at a stereotypical level; thus, whereas some cultures are seen as indirect (such as English), others are judged as direct (such as Russian). This leads us into the danger of treating cultures as homogeneous (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Mills and Kadar, 2011).<sup>99</sup> Such an assumption, which is adopted by some cross-cultural and intercultural theorists of politeness, may run certain risks: “the risk of overlooking variation, the risk of ignoring contested norms...the risk of stereotyping and the risk of reducing participants’ behaviour to essential differences in culture” (Grainger, 2011: 179). Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that stereotypes can account for the norms of only the dominant groups (such as the middle class in British English society). Mills and Kadar draw attention to the fact that, within every culture, there exists variation regarding what is regarded as polite or impolite behaviour. This is in contrast with the traditional politeness theories which assume the possibility of making generalisations about what constitutes polite and impolite norms across a particular language group or culture, as if cultures were homogeneous. To illustrate this, Mills and Kadar claim that speakers in a certain culture may feel enabled to speak in a way which might be considered over-polite. For instance, within the UK (which is usually classified as using indirect forms), the working class may not accept particular linguistic norms which are linked with middle-class speech norms. Therefore, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, “what we need to be aware of when we analyse the speech norms stereotypically associated with particular cultures is that not all members of that culture will speak according to the stereotype, and that whilst useful sometimes as an indication of tendencies within the culture as a whole, these stereotypical qualities are

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<sup>99</sup>See section 3.5. for a detailed discussion about the danger of treating cultures at stereotypical level.

generally associated only with particular groups within that society” (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 42). However, Mills and Kadar do not assume that there is nothing that can be said about cultural norms or across cultures. Mills and Kadar (2011: 34) describe the role of culture as follows:

The relationship between culture and politeness can in fact be studied but should be approached with some caution. We believe that it is possible to critically study politeness in [...cultural] settings, provided that one refrains from generalising statements based on the languages practices of certain dominant groups or stereotypes of those groups. In other words, the dominant politeness norms of these areas can be faithfully represented as long as it is not claimed that they are absolute norms, and as long as other “norms” are discussed in relation to them.

Grainger (2011) points out, also quite rightly, that people’s interactional style is related to their background as individuals from certain groups. This cultural background can explain, at least partly, the common interactional behaviour of people who belong to the same background. Thus, according to Grainger, we need to talk about intercultural communication if we wish to explain the problem of misunderstandings that are generated from interactions between people of different cultural experiences. We also need to be aware of the evaluations we make about the specific behaviour of such people.

Furthermore, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 29) argue, “the degree of (in)directness is an ideological judgement that often serves the maintenance of superiority”. For example, in relation to the English, the Chinese are viewed as more indirect while, when compared to the Japanese, the Chinese are represented as more direct. Thus, “Chinese culture as a whole cannot be classified as unequivocally direct or indirect” (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 31), which raises the question of the validity of classifying other cultures as being either direct or indirect. Furthermore, directness and indirectness should not be assumed to have the same

concepts and functions which are applicable in all cultures, because they might have other interpretations. Thus, while indirectness, in general, might be conventionalised as being associated with politeness in British English, for example, it might be evaluated negatively as being associated with impoliteness and causing deliberate offence in other cultures (e.g. Libyan Arabic, as I show in Chapters 6 and 7).

As the focus of this study is on Arabic and English directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness, it is worth investigating the employment of (in)direct speech in Arabic in order to show how different cultural backgrounds (alongside other factors) can play a significant role in determining the general motivations and forms of (in)directness used in a particular culture.

#### **4.8. (In)directness and Politeness in Arabic**

In this section, I will discuss the notion of directness and indirectness and examine its relation to politeness in Arabic. Thus, I present a range of Arabic studies, mostly carried out by Arab researchers, which examine politeness among Arabic speakers.

##### **4.8.1. Studies on Linguistic Politeness in Arabic Dialects.**

Compared to the literature on the different linguistic politeness strategies in Western languages (Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983; Wierzbicka 1985, 1991; Holtgraves 1997; Pavlidou 2000; Ogiermann 2009) and East Asian cultures (Fukushima, 2002; Pan 2011; Haugh and Obana, 2011), studies that have dealt with a variety of Arabic dialects are still relatively few in number. However, most of the studies on Arabic linguistic strategies of politeness can be categorised into three main types. The first is the kind of research that outlines the socio-cultural aspects of a specific Arab society and sheds light on the linguistic



forms that are used in this community without comparing them with other cultures or language groups (for example, Nureddeen 2008; Jebahi 2010). The second is the type of study that analyses and compares Arabic linguistic forms of politeness with those existing in other cultures, particularly English (for example, Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh 2012; Albatal et al., 2002). The third is the kind of research that explores the linguistic strategies employed by Arab learners of English (for example, Al-Ali and Alawneh 2010). Thus, in this section, I discuss research on politeness in some of the Arabic dialects focusing on Sudanese, Tunisian, Saudi Arabian, Jordanian, Moroccan, and Egyptian.

#### **4.8.1.1. Sudanese**

Nureddeen (2008) carried out a study to explore the main types of apology strategies that are used in Sudanese Arabic, and sheds light on the pragmatic rules that govern the use of Sudanese dialect. The study argues that Sudanese speakers tend to orient towards positive politeness, since most of the responses to her Discourse Completion Test (DCT) indicate that the informants chose the strategies that enabled them to avoid their own positive face from being damaged. For example, the Sudanese respondents preferred to mitigate the impact of a direct apology by avoiding explicit face damaging strategies and choosing explanations that can provide an excuse or avoidance of self-blame (e.g. humour, minimisation, denial, and so on), rather than expressing an apology directly (e.g. taking responsibility, intensification and promising forbearance). Thus, Nureddeen argues that the Sudanese informants, in general, tended to avoid explicit apologies and prefer implicit strategies.

#### **4.8.1.2. Tunisian**

Jebahi's (2011) research examined apology strategies in Tunisian Arabic by investigating the use of the apology by Tunisian university students. The results showed that the Tunisian

informants generally tend to apologise explicitly by using expressions of remorse in three main situations. These are where the offended party is: (1) a close friend; (2) older; or (3) has the power to affect the offender's future. A second strategy that is often used is when the respondents deny responsibility or shift responsibility to other causes. There are also other less widely used strategies which include: self-blame, promise of repair, blaming the victim, invoking Allah's name, intensification, minimisation, and humour. What seems to be suggested in this study is that Tunisians' strategy choices in performing apologies vary from explicit and direct forms to implicit and deniable forms. Thus, there is no one type of apology that is used in every situation (e.g. direct or indirect); instead there are various factors that influence the speaker's choice.

#### **4.8.1.3. Saudi Arabian**

Al-Oqaily and Tawalbeh's (2012) study examined the relationship between (in)directness and politeness in making requests among Saudi Arabian native speakers and American English native speakers. This study indicated that, while the Saudi informants' strategy choices vary from one situation to another, according to the factors of power and distance, their American counterparts tended to use conventional indirectness in most situations. Furthermore, the study revealed that the degree and purpose of directness can vary cross-culturally. For example, direct requests are used by Americans when asking their friends to make non-weighty requests, whereas directness is the preferred choice among the Saudis to indicate affiliation, closeness and group-connectedness.

#### **4.8.1.4. Jordanian**

Al-Ali and Alawneh (2010) investigated the linguistic devices employed by Jordanian learners of English when making requests in English compared to those used by American

English speakers. They wanted to find out whether their cultural pragmatic knowledge had any influence on their request behaviour in L2. The study showed that Jordanian learners' choices were significantly influenced by three main factors: (1) language ability; (2) L1 pragmatic knowledge; and (3) L1 cultural norms transfer. For example, the requests performed by Jordanian speakers reflect their pragmatic knowledge in making requests in their L1, which are usually employed in an indirect way (e.g. long-winded request structures) in order to minimise the degree of imposition of a direct request on the interlocutor, whereas their American counterparts tended to use more direct forms. The results of this study may indicate that L2 learners transfer their cultural pragmatic knowledge from their L1, and thus their behaviour might be affected by the transfer of their first language knowledge to the target language.

#### **4.8.1.5. Moroccan**

Alaoui (2011) explored the various ways in which politeness can be indicated in the speech acts of requests, offers and thanking in Moroccan Arabic as compared to English. Alaoui suggested that, since such acts involve potential face-damage to the speaker and the hearer, the speakers in English and Arabic attempt to reduce the imposition of these acts on their own face as well as on their interlocutor's face. However, the study showed interesting differences in performing speech acts in both languages. For example, while the English respondents preferred modal and question devices, the Moroccans' favoured devices were politeness markers (such as "Allah yxellik", "Allah yrdi \_lik" (God bless you) and "afak" (God give you good health, with the ellipsis of "God"), which are regarded as very polite forms that can be used to minimise the impact of imperatives. It is interesting to note that "[t]raditionally in Moroccan, the offer has to be repeated and declined a number of times before it is accepted. Accepting from the first offer is regarded as bad form, so S/H goes through this ritualized

behaviour where each one has a defined role” (Alaoui, 2011: 13). What is noteworthy is that the strategy of refusing an offer several times before being accepted is not restricted to Moroccan Arabic, since this phenomenon can also be found in many other Arab societies.<sup>100</sup>

#### 4.8.1.6. Egyptian

The main aim of Al Batal, El Bakary and Nelson’s (2002) study is to examine the similarities and differences between (in)directness in Egyptian Arabic and American English communication styles. Their research focused on making refusals by the two groups and asked whether Egyptians and Americans make them in a similar way. Al Batal et al. mention that most studies on the Arabic communication style suggest that Arab culture is high context (as pointed out in the previous chapter), and thus more indirect; while American culture is considered to be low context and thus less indirect. However, the results of Al Batal et al.’s study do not support this claim. On the contrary, they suggest that, overall, the strategies and frequency regarding making refusals in Egypt and the US are similar. Furthermore, the Egyptian male informants used more direct forms when making refusals to people of either higher or lower status than the American ones. In research conducted by the same researchers (1993), in which they examine American and Egyptian compliment strategies, the findings reveal that Egyptians tend to be more direct in offering compliments than expected, but this is not to say that the Egyptians only use direct strategies.<sup>101</sup> Nelson et al. (1993) point out that:

These findings are not totally consistent with other studies that suggest that Arabs communicate indirectly (Cohen, 1987; Katriel, 1986). Both the qualitative and quantitative data in this study point to the directness with which Egyptians

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<sup>100</sup> Examples of Libyan Arabic offers will be provided in Chapter 7

<sup>101</sup> We should be aware of the type of indirectness that is used in every culture might be different from others. For example, the indirect forms which are seen as conventional in Arab culture might differ from the conventional indirect forms that are usually used in British culture (for further explanation, see 4.5.).

compliment. The conflicting findings between previous studies and this study suggest the danger of over-generalizing across speech acts and situations. It is probable that Egyptians use both direct and indirect communication depending on the context (Nelson et al. 1993: 311).

According to the above studies, we can conclude that, despite the many similarities among Arabic dialects, there are some differences between the favoured strategy choices preferred in these societies. However, “the dialect is by no means considered a force or an agent itself. Rather, the agent is the culture which is manifested through the dialect” (Jebahi, 2010: 648). The findings of these studies should not be generalised to all other Arabic-speaking societies or even to all of the various cultural groups that constitute each society. For example, Al Batal et al. (2002) draw attention to the problem of stereotyping Arabic communication style as indirect, because the possibility of cross-cultural misunderstandings might arise. That is, “non-Arabs, who have been taught that Arabs use indirect communication, may perceive Arabs as impolite, rude, or arrogant if they use direct strategies in refusing or in other face-threatening acts when, in fact, they are behaving appropriately according to the norms and rules with which they were socialized” (Al Batal et al., 2002: 50). However, although the results of these studies have provided a good insight into Arabic politeness, for example, they have demonstrated the strategies used by Arabic speakers in realising and reacting to a specific speech act (e.g. requests), such a method does not deal well with Arabic politeness at a discursive level, because the data collected through this method are primarily based on invented examples (e.g. DCT), rather than real situations, and thus fall prey to ideological generalisations. On the whole, Arab societies should not be seen as homogeneous as they are variable, diverse and complex just like all other cultures. Thus, it is unwise to make generalisations about Arabic-speaking people simply because they speak the same language.

#### 4.9. Conclusion.

This chapter has examined the notions of directness and indirectness and their complex relation to politeness and impoliteness. By defining 'directness' and 'indirectness' at the beginning of this chapter, it is obvious that reaching a consensus among scholars regarding their meanings is not possible. The main research question that has been addressed throughout this chapter is to what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness and directness and impoliteness. The discussion of this chapter has clearly illustrated the point that directness and indirectness cannot always be seen as indexing the same values. Both forms may index different values according to the contexts and different expectations in such contexts in different cultures. Directness can be preferred in certain contexts, but dispreferred in others. Indirectness can be used politely in some situations, but it can also be seen as indicative of impoliteness in others.<sup>102</sup> However, we should not treat directness as a default from which speakers deviate, as it can simply be used because there is no need for explicitness due to the fact that the same linguistic repertoire is shared by the interlocutors. Thus, more explicit forms are preferred. This raised the question of the possibility of treating (in)directness in a similar way cross-culturally; as their concept and interpretations can differ from one culture to another according to the purposes behind using this strategy. By examining the notions of (in)directness in a number of cultures, I have shown that cultures cannot simply be classified as direct or indirect, because this narrows the complexity that occurs in communicational styles in every society. Some Arabic studies have also been examined in this chapter. However, the Arab researchers, like most politeness researchers, have failed to move away from an Anglo-Saxon perspective on indirectness, and have merely applied this to Arabic dialects. This is not to attempt to negate the importance of

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<sup>102</sup> More detailed discussion is provided in Chapter 6 and 7.

their work, but (in)directness can have other applications that are not restricted to the possibility of employing speech acts according to the Anglo-Saxon model. Furthermore, politeness norms which are built on stereotypical and ideological beliefs do not reflect actual usage. Thus, they need to be examined at a discursive level through data derived from real situations rather than invented examples, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

## Chapter 5

### Methodology

#### 5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the methodological framework for this study, taking into consideration the discussion outlined in the previous chapters. Based on the literature review in chapter 2, I explain why I am using a discursive approach model as a framework for this study in section 5.2., and then, in section 5.3., I assess the methods that are often used for linguistic research data, before explaining and justifying the methods I have used in the current research. Following this, I present the procedures for the data collection through discussing the pilot studies that I carried out, in section 5.4. In the final part of this chapter, I will describe the methods I used to gather the data for this study.

#### 5.2. Methodological Framework

As I have already discussed in chapters 2 and 3, most previous studies on politeness have been heavily influenced by Brown and Levinson's model; as a consequence, "their approach to politeness reflects basically Anglo-Saxon perceptions of politeness phenomenon in many respects" (Pan, 2011: 73). Since the current study draws on data from Libyan Arabic and British English, it seems that such a framework cannot serve as a theoretical basis for a cross-cultural comparison,<sup>103</sup> and thus it would be inappropriate to take their model as a framework for the present work, which involves an empirical study using Arabic and British informants.<sup>104</sup> To this extent, it would be useful to consider another politeness model that can provide a sufficient explanation for (im)politeness phenomena in Arabic and English cultures.

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<sup>103</sup> Although Brown and Levinson's (1987) study concerns cross-cultural interactions, their work is inadequate for such comparisons (see the problems with Brown and Levinson's approach in Chapter 2).

<sup>104</sup> A discussion of the criticism of the politeness theories has been provided in Chapter 2.



Discursive approaches seem to provide a good analytical framework for cross-cultural comparisons for a number of reasons.<sup>105</sup> For example, this approach refutes the idea that some linguistic forms are inherently polite or impolite in themselves and, rather, assumes that the situation and context play a key role in the process of understanding or evaluating (im)politeness. For this reason, this model uses only empirical data, rather than invented examples. In addition, this approach takes the evaluations of the interactants into consideration in the analysis process; thus, it is more accurate than simply depending on the analyst's gut reaction.

In this thesis I take a discursive approach to (im)politeness to be an approach that maps onto Mills' (2003) account. It is an approach that is concerned with individuals' dynamic evaluations of (im)politeness. Thus, the most important aspect of the discursive approach to my own research is its capacity to take into consideration interactants' different interpretations of (im)politeness and (in)directness. Such an approach complicates the process of analysing (im)politeness and (in)directness. It also makes it possible to account for the complexity and diversity of cultures. Thus, it is more adequate for understanding cross-cultural communication, where participants may have different evaluations of what constitutes (im)politeness and (in)directness. However, I extended the discursive approach to (im)politeness by adding an indexicality dimension. My purpose in doing so is to suggest that such a methodology can explain the social meanings that participants attribute to certain linguistic practices, thus, interpreting the values generated by using (in)directness.

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<sup>105</sup> A discussion has been provided in Chapter 2.

### **5.3. Methods of Data Collection: Qualitative vs. Quantitative Research Methods**

One of the most complex issues in the field of linguistics is what can be considered data for analysis (Mills, 2003). Linguists often use either a quantitative or qualitative paradigm (Angouri, 2010). Rasinger (2010) explains that qualitative research is different from quantitative in that the former “is concerned with structures and patterns and *how* something is,” (2010: 52) while quantitative analysis “focuses on *how much* or *how many* there is/are of a particular characteristic or item” (2010: 52, original emphasis). Here, I illustrate the main differences between qualitative and quantitative research.

#### **5.3.1. Quantitative Research Method**

Quantitative research, according to Hennink et al. (2011), aims to measure a research issue, and then generalises its findings to the whole community by using a set of research methods, such as questionnaires and role-play discussions. Therefore, a large number of informants are required when using such methods. Some scholars (e.g. Mills, 2003) have identified problems with the quantitative method which make it less suitable for politeness data analysis. For example, Mills (2003) argues that it is difficult to assume that the experimental environments into which the informants are put are representative of real situations; thus their behaviour cannot be generalised to their actual behaviour in real life or to that of their whole community. She also draws attention to the problem of assuming instead that specific types of language items (such as those used for compliments) have static meanings, which is largely assumed by quantitative research (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1995), suggesting instead that “particular language items are always multifunctional” (2003: 43).

Quantitative research is also criticised for making generalisations about certain behaviour within a specific community or language group (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003). Eelen

(2001), for instance, argues that quantitative analysis is based on the notion that a particular type of behaviour constitutes the social norms within a community, ignoring any potential variability within this community. Another problem that has been identified by Mills (2003) with regard to the quantitative method, particularly questionnaires (such as DCT) and role play exercises, is that people's answers usually do not match their actual performance or response in real life, especially if the topic is related to politeness. Referring to Spencer's Oatey's (2000) edited collection as an example of the difficulties associated with making cross-cultural comparisons, Mills (2003: 44) explains that people "may feel that they are responding as cultural representatives and that they are obliged to present positive images of themselves and their culture". Thus, according to Mills, we must be careful when we use such methods for analysis.

### **5.3.2. Qualitative Research Method**

In contrast, qualitative research aims "to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussion...." (Hennink et al., 2011: 8-9). A small number of participants are required "as the purpose is to achieve depth of information (rather than breadth)" (Hennink et al., 2011: 17). Qualitative research, therefore, is widely used in examining issues which focus on the participants' views, interpretations and experiences about an event or behaviour in their natural settings. Denzin and Lincoln (2008), for example, point out that qualitative research "involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 4). Qualitative analysis, however, suffers from certain problems. For example, Fukushima (2002) refers to Beebe and Takahashi's (1989) explanation of some of the limitations of the qualitative method (e.g.

naturally occurring data), such as the data's bias towards the linguists' preference for people with whom they are familiar (e.g. friends and relatives).<sup>106</sup> However, despite such a limitation, the qualitative method "is more willing to question the possibility of generalizing from its finding" (Mills, 2003: 44). Therefore, qualitative research is usually recommended for exploring people's beliefs about complex topics. Since (im)politeness is a very complicated issue, using this type of research will be useful for improving our evaluation of this phenomenon.<sup>107</sup>

Taking into consideration the difficulties associated with data collection, I decided to use a mixed methods approach, which can be defined "as research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry" (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007: 4), in order to overcome the limitations of each method. Many researchers (Greene et al. 1989; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003, 2010) have shed light on the benefits of combining methodologies. Tashakkori and Teddlie, (2010), for example, point out that a mixed methods approach can provide "ways to answer research questions that could not be answered in any other way" (2010). Greene et al. (1989) also argue that:

All methods have inherent biases and limitations, so use of only one method to assess a given phenomenon will inevitably yield biased and limited results. However, when two or more methods that have offsetting biases are used to assess a given phenomenon and the results of these methods converge or corroborate one another, then the validity of inquiry findings is enhanced (Greene et al., 1989: 256).

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<sup>106</sup>The same problem was also identified by Mills (2003) who argues that "[o]ne of the difficulties [with qualitative method] is that often the people drawn on belong to the same linguistic community as the linguist, so there are numerous studies of the language of university students, of middle-class white people, and fewer studies of other groups of people" (2003: 44).

<sup>107</sup>Other problems with the qualitative method are discussed below.

Therefore, the data presented in this study are based on various sources, and fall into two main groups: written and oral. The written portion of the data was collected via questionnaires. The oral part of the data consists of naturally occurring interactions, including recorded data, a log-book and focus group interactions.

## **5.4. Pilot Study**

### **5.4.1. Focus Group**

I conducted three focus group discussions with a number of Arab female informants as part of my initial research; each group included three to eight participants and the whole discussions were recorded after obtaining the full, prior permission of the participants to do so. However, I faced some problems which made the discussions I led unsuitable for the present study. One of these problems was that there were very few participants in some of the groups, and thus “it is difficult to .... gain a diversity of perspectives” (Hennink *et al*, 2011: 152).<sup>108</sup> Another was that my participants were unable to give clear answers to some questions, which were important for my research. For example, when I asked a question like ‘can you give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you indirectly?’, the participants said that they had many examples but could not think of any at that moment. Because of the importance of such questions for my study, and because it was difficult for the informants to answer some questions instantly, I opted for a written questionnaire which provided sufficient time for the participants to answer the questions.

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<sup>108</sup> A sufficient number of participants were invited to take a part in the discussion, but some failed to attend.

#### **5.4.2. Written Questionnaires**

The first versions of the Arabic and English questionnaires were pilot-tested with five informants from both cultures. Both questionnaires involved virtually the same questions (see the initial Arabic and English Questionnaires in Appendices H and I). The questionnaires were written in English and then translated into Arabic for the Arab informants. However, some of the English informants gave general answers to certain questions (see the initial English Questionnaire in Appendix I, p. 210). For example, there was a question about situations in which the informant usually uses indirectness. Such a question seemed to be unclear and general, which made some informants answer as follows: 'all situations' or 'according to the context', so it was unclear whether these situations and contexts the informants referred to were restricted only to the degree of indirectness needed for politeness or if they also involved impolite situations. For this reason, it was important to make my question clearer and more specific to enable the informants to specify the contexts and situations in which they usually use indirectness, so the question was modified to 'do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?' Specifying the purpose of the questions helped the informants to give more explicit answers, which made these more appropriate for the final versions of the questionnaire.<sup>109</sup>

### **5.5. Data for the Study of Directness and Indirectness**

#### **5.5.1. Written Questionnaires**

The main advantage of written questionnaires is the possibility of distributing them to a large number of informants and, thus, collecting a large amount of data. As a consequence, this method guarantees that the data are not biased towards the researcher's preference of family,

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<sup>109</sup> This is not to say that the Arabic and English questionnaires were completely different. Most of the questions were still the same.

friends and relatives. Moreover, the informants are not put under pressure of time to complete the questionnaire. For these reasons, I decided to use this method as one way of collecting data for this study. I constructed a questionnaire in both Arabic and English in order to examine the concept of directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness in both languages. The idea behind this questionnaire was to investigate whether directness and indirectness are viewed differently in the two cultures and whether Libyans and British tend to use these strategies to indicate politeness or impoliteness. This information was completed by a number of informants of both sexes, different educational backgrounds and ages.

#### **5.5.1.1. The Informants**

The informants of my questionnaires were all randomly chosen male and female informants who spoke Libyan Arabic and British English. I decided not to restrict myself to a specific cultural group (say, students); and used a random selection of informants of different ages and educational backgrounds in order to avoid my study being centred on a specific cultural group. Thus, this study is more likely to reflect the diversity and variability within the Libyan and British cultures and present various perspectives of the different cultural groups. This allows me to suggest what might be considered polite or impolite in relation to directness and indirectness in these two cultures. Mills and Kadar (2011) argue that:

[B]y analysing a wide range of data, for example, analysing working-class and middle-class people, young and old, it may be possible to make generalisations about the resources available to these particular groups and their tendencies to use particular forms to indicate politeness or impoliteness. Furthermore, we will be able to discuss the way that, in the process of being polite or impolite, individuals construct their identities in relation to what are perceived to be group and social norms (Mills and Kadar, 2011: 43).

Some of my friends helped me to collect the Arabic data by distributing the questionnaire to their friends, relatives and colleagues of both sexes, of varying social and educational background, age and so on. Thus, the data are not restricted only to my own community (e.g. my relatives, friends, and so on). With regard to the English data, members of a trade union and a community neighbourhood group agreed to help me to collect data. The informants had a wide range of social background, age and educational level.

The informants were asked to supply information about their age, gender, and the country from which they came (Table 5.1 quantifies this information). It is worth bearing in mind that the Libyan informants of the study came from different parts of Libya. Although some of them live in England now, the questionnaires were given only to individuals whose residence is temporary (2 years or less) and excluded those who have been living in the UK for a long time (more than 2 years). Hence, their answers are more likely to be particular to Libyan Arabic culture. All of the Libyan respondents speak Libyan Arabic as a mother tongue, and Modern Standard Arabic, which they learnt at school. Over 100 questionnaires were given out, but I randomly considered only 25 Arabic completed forms and used the same number of English forms.

***Table 5.1 The social profile of the data.***

Nationality	Libyan	British
Age: 17-35	14	11
36-57	11	14
Female	12	13
Male	13	12



### 5.5.1.2. The Data

Both the Arabic and English questionnaires contained seven questions. The questionnaire asked the participants, both Arab and English, to describe what politeness meant to them: in other words, to define the concept of politeness. It also asked them to describe the meaning of impoliteness and to define indirectness.<sup>110</sup> There was also a question about whether there is a relationship between speaking indirectly and being polite or impolite. The informants were asked to describe situations in which they usually use indirect speech (this question was amended for the English informants, as noted above). There was also a question about whether Libyan people tend to use indirect speech to indicate politeness or impoliteness in the Arabic version of the questionnaire, and for the English respondents the question was whether British people, in general, tend to use directness or indirectness more. There was also a question about whether the informants, both Libyan and British, themselves prefer to use direct or indirect forms of speech. Then, the informants were required to give an example of a real situation in which they spoke, or someone spoke to them, indirectly, providing as much detail as possible. It is worth noting that in, this question, the informants were not asked to specify whether these situations or events had either a positive or negative effect on them. The idea behind this was to give the informants the opportunity to give answers which reflect on the use of indirect speech in their own cultures (see the Arabic Questionnaire in Appendix A, pp. 3-36; and the modified English Questionnaire in Appendix B, pp. 38-69).<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup>It should be mentioned that the translation equivalent word for 'indirectness' in Arabic does not share the same meaning as in English because it cannot be understood as something related to speech so, in the Arabic version of the questionnaire, I used the phrase 'indirect speech' to refer to 'indirectness'.

<sup>111</sup>Like Arabic in all Arab countries, Arabic in Libya is diglossic in nature, so Libyans speak the Libyan Arabic dialect in their demotic communication. However, the Arabic questionnaire was written in 'Fusha فصحي'; apart from the last question, the informants were not asked to produce responses in their everyday language, because this would not affect their answers' validity. The responses to the last question, however, were required to be written in 'Ammyya' because the informants were asked to describe events of everyday life in which they obviously used their everyday language, so it seemed closer to

Despite the advantages of using written questionnaires, I was aware of the limitations of this method, particularly for the last question regarding the examples of the situations the informants were asked to provide. For example, one might argue that such situations are not natural, so they may lack the characteristics of actual conversations, such as the length of the interaction, sequencing, turn-taking, the number of exchanges among the participants and so on. Wolfson (1989: 182), for example, asks, "how much can we assume that written responses are representative of spoken ones? ... can we hope that short, decontextualized written segments are comparable to the longer routines typical of actual interaction?". Therefore, I had to consider how I could overcome the limitation of the use of written data. In order to achieve this goal, I asked my informants to give examples of spoken situations that had happened to them in real life. Thus, the informants were not restricted to invented situations, say, as in the case of the discourse completion task (DCT) questionnaires, where the informants are required to respond to invented and sometimes artificial situations which they might have never encountered (e.g. Fukushima 2002; Sifianou, 1992). Furthermore, the informants were asked to provide extensive details about the situations they mention, so there was no limitation on space to respond to this question. Not only did this give the respondents the opportunity to supply very detailed information about what happened, and how and where the actions took place, but also to include their personal assessments and feelings regarding these situations and their reactions to them. Thus, although such examples may not be rich in contextual detail, they can provide insights into what the respondents consider to be relevant to them in such situations. However, this is not to say that written questionnaires are sufficient for this study; after all, written data cannot be

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naturally occurring communication and more realistic to ask the Libyan informants to respond in their everyday spoken language, although it is not common to use this version in writing.

representative of natural, spontaneous conversation. For this reason, I decided to use naturally occurring interactions taking place in the real environments of everyday communication between intimates as a further data source for this research.

### **5.5.2. Naturally Occurring Data**

The collection of naturally occurring data seems to be the most highly recommended method in linguistic research, due to its advantages, which have been described by Cohen (1996: 391-92) as follows:

- 1- The data are spontaneous.
- 2- The data reflect what the speakers say rather than what they think they would say.
- 3- The speakers are reacting to a natural situation rather than to a contrived and possibly unfamiliar situation.
- 4- The communicative event has real-world consequences.
- 5- The event may be a source of rich pragmatic structures.

However, Cohen (1996: 392) has also identified some problems with naturally occurring data, which include:

- 1- The speech act being studied may not occur naturally very often.
- 2- Proficiency and gender may be difficult to control.
- 3- Collecting and analysing the data are time-consuming.<sup>112</sup>
- 4- The data may not yield enough or any examples of target items.
- 5- The use of recording equipment may be intrusive.
- 6- The use of note taking as a complement to or in lieu of taping relies on memory

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<sup>112</sup>When comparing two different languages, as in the case of my research, these difficulties are doubled due to the need for word-by-word translation, equivalent translation into the target language and then the transcription of both versions which is very time-consuming.

Despite these difficulties, I chose to use this method, because it is still seen as a prime way of understanding people's beliefs and experiences. I used two main ways to collect naturally occurring data: recorded data, and log-book data.<sup>113</sup>

#### **5.5.2.1. Recorded Data**

I used a recorder to record several casual conversations in both Arabic and English. The Arab participants who were recorded included friends, family members, gatherings of relatives, etc.<sup>114</sup> I was present when most of the Arabic recordings were made, and participated in some of them. With regard to the English data, I had assistance from some English people who agreed to help me to record the data for my research. The English participants who were recorded also included friends or family members. I was not present during any of these English recordings. In all cases, full and prior consent to record the data was obtained and all data presented have been anonymised. Whenever I collected the data, the participants involved in the interactions were not informed about the topic of my research to ensure that their interactions remained natural and spontaneous.

#### **5.5.2.2. Log-book Data**

I faced some difficulties in trying to obtain naturally occurring data by recording conversations.<sup>115</sup> However, in order to tackle these difficulties and obtain the advantages of spontaneous and natural interactions, which were not recorded, I used Grainger's (2011) method of analysis which is based on naturally occurring conversations. Following Grainger,

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<sup>113</sup>Following Culpeper (2011), I also used examples of indirectness the participants provided on the questionnaires as naturalistic data, as well as some examples that the focus group informants mentioned.

<sup>114</sup> It should be noted that my study does not aim to investigate interactions between Arabic and English speakers, so both the Arabic and English data were recorded separately

<sup>115</sup> One of these difficulties was that there were fewer situations than I hoped to collect. Another was that I failed to record everything so, on many occasions, I missed very useful examples for my study which took place either between me and another participant or among others in front of me.

whenever I realised that an incident might be relevant to my research, I wrote it down immediately in a log book, “so that accuracy of sequencing and content would be preserved” (Grainger, 2011: 181). Although some aspects of the conversations were missed using this method (e.g. tone of voice, hesitation, and so on), as Grainger notes, incidental interactions can be a useful source of data in the case of my research, because off-record indirectness, as Grainger (2011) argues, is unpredictable; therefore, there would be no guarantee that, at any particular time, the individuals, specifically Arabs, would use indirect speech in the way that I want to focus on in this study.

One might argue that the judgments of such situations might be biased towards the researcher’s view, and thus may not reflect Libyan people’s perspectives. I would argue that, as a native Arabic speaker, my evaluation of these situations, particularly those in which I was one of the participants, did not take place in a vacuum, because I was affected by the social norms and conventions of Libyan society in evaluating such situations. Moreover, being simultaneously participant and observer on such occasions was of great benefit, because I was well aware of the details that might not be of any importance for ordinary individuals (such as the length of the interactions, turn-taking, the number of exchanges among the participants, and so on). However, since the interactions were recorded from memory, I could not recall every single word uttered. Considering such limitations of this method, I used it only for limited examples which I felt could serve as a strong indication of the use of direct and indirect speech in Libyan Arabic culture. With regard to the English data, some English people agreed to help me to note down incidents, which they felt were relevant to directness or indirectness, in a log book. I also used some incidents which took place between some English people and myself in certain situations, which I felt to be useful for my research.

### 5.5.3. Focus Groups

Focus groups are defined “as a research technique that collects data through group interaction in a topic determined by the researcher” (Morgan, 1996: 130). This method of research is seen as a major social research tool (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010) and the “hallmark of focus groups is their explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group” (Morgan, 1997: 2). Many researchers (Hennink et al., 2010; Bertrand et al., 1992; Kitzinger, 1994) draw attention to the benefits that can be gained through using this technique for data collection. For example, Hennink et al. (2010: 158) argue that the use of focus groups is very beneficial in that “when there is effective interaction between participants, each participant is essentially probing other participants for more information, explanation, or justification about the topic discussed, simply by entering into a discussion together. This is extremely beneficial for the research as it provides a deeper understanding of the issues and produces richer data as a result”. Another advantage of this method is that dynamic interactions between participants can “reach parts that other methods cannot reach” (Kitzinger, 1994: 107). As such, they “often reveal levels of understanding that remain untapped by other data collection techniques” (Doody et al., 2013: 266). However, like all other methods, focus groups interaction suffers from certain limitations. For instance, Edley and Litosseliti, (2010) draw attention to Suchman and Brigitte’s description of the consequences of the misunderstandings that may arise if the interviewer “fails to appreciate the encounter as a stretch of dialogue” (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 159). They argue that, when the interviewer uses fixed questions or repeatedly asks the same question, he/she “will usually infer that their previous responses are wrong or

inappropriate” (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010: 159).<sup>116</sup> Taking the advantages and shortcomings of the focus group method into consideration, I conducted three focus group discussions: two were for Libyan Arab informants (one for males and the other for females) and one was for the English informants (males and females combined).<sup>117</sup> From the recordings, I selected certain sections which I felt would serve the purpose of my study. In order to make it clearer and easier to follow, I labelled every section with a certain function of directness or indirectness, as it was discussed by the participants. All of the discussions were recorded after obtaining the full and prior permission of the participants to do so and the data presented were anonymised (see Appendix J, p. 211).

I conducted a focus group discussion with a number of Libyan Arab female informants in the UK as part of my research (see Appendix C, pp. 72-129). I invited ten females to join the group but only seven did so. The participants in the study came from different parts of Libya, and their residence in the UK ranged from 10 days to 2 years. I excluded those who had been living in the UK for a long time. Hence, as I mentioned in Section 5.5.1.1., their answers are more likely to be particular to Libyan Arabic culture. I recorded a 59:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included one relative, friends, and friends of friends, most of whom were well-educated. Their ages range from 25 to 59 years old. I labelled the individuals who were presented in the discussion as follows: H: 25 years old; A: 30 years old; S: 34; M: 33 years old; F: 42 years old; N: 45 years old; R: 59 years old; and Zainab: myself.

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<sup>116</sup> Above all, the interactions between the focus group participants, as Hennink *et al.* (2011) point out, is the best way to obtain various points of view, which provide a deep understanding of the topic of my study.

<sup>117</sup>For cultural reasons, it was difficult for me to include Arab males and females in the same discussion. Therefore, a separate focus group was conducted for each group.

The focus group discussion for male Arab informants was conducted by a male assistant on my behalf (see Appendix D, pp. 130-175).<sup>118</sup> Six male informants were invited to take a part in the group. The male participants of the focus group also came from different parts of Libya. I recorded a 42:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included friends, colleagues and neighbours, all of whom were well-educated, with ages ranging from 30 to 51 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: F: 51 years old; R: 34 years old; M: 37 years old; N: 30 years old; S: 45 years old; Z: 43 years old; and A: my assistant.

I also carried out a focus group discussion with a number of British participants who were native English speakers as part of my research (see Appendix E, pp. 176-189). They were five females and one male who took part in the group. As in the case for all of the recordings in this study, the discussion was recorded after obtaining the full and prior permission of the participants to do so and the data presented have been anonymised. I recorded an approximately 22 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion were all primary school teachers, with ages ranging from 24 to 56 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: R: 24 years old; D: 26 years old; K: 34 years old; J: 43 years old; M: 45 years old; P: 56 years old and Zainab: myself.

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<sup>118</sup> Again, for cultural reasons, I could not conduct the focus group for males myself. However, the issues raised during the male group's discussion were similar to those raised during the other discussions.



## **5.6. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a methodological basis for this study and shed light on the issues to be discussed in the next chapters. I reviewed the different methods of data collection (qualitative and quantitative) and decided to use mixed methods in order to “strengthen the validity of inquiry results” (Greene et al., 1989: 256). I also explained some aspects of this research, such as the participants and procedures for data gathering. Using the data I collected, I conducted analyses that will be described in the following chapters.

## Chapter 6

### Data Analysis: Questionnaires and Focus Group

#### 6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the concept and interpretations of directness and indirectness in relation to politeness and impoliteness in both Arabic and English, by examining data collected via questionnaires and focus groups. The main research question that is posed in this chapter is: is (in)directness perceived differently in Arab and English cultures? The aim of this chapter, thus, is to highlight the main ideological and cultural motivations that affect the interactants' choices in communication in terms of directness and indirectness in each community. It also aims to highlight the positive and negative values that directness and indirectness may *indirectly* index in each community. I start the chapter by analysing the questionnaire data, through discussing the answers which were provided by the informants, both Arab and English. In section 6.2.1., I investigate the native speakers' conception of politeness and impoliteness by discussing the definitions they provided for both terms. I then move on, in section 6.2.2., to discussing the native speakers' conception of indirectness, through examining how the informants defined this term, its relation to politeness and impoliteness, the informants' preference for either direct or indirect forms, and the situations in which indirectness is usually used. In section 6.2.3., I provide an overview of the examples which were provided by my questionnaire informants. Following this, in section 6.2.4., I provide a summary of the questionnaire analysis. Then, in section 6.3., I analyse the focus group data for both the Arabic and English, by organising them according to the informants' responses, into 6 categories. In section 6.4, I provide concluding remarks about the focus group discussions, and conclude the whole chapter.

## **6.2. Questionnaire Analysis**

### **6.2.1. Native Speakers' Concept of Politeness and Impoliteness**

On the questionnaire (see Appendices A and B for the Arabic and English questionnaires respectively), the answers to the first and second questions concerning the concept of politeness and impoliteness (1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means? and 2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?) were diverse, as expected, as there is no agreement even among scholars about the precise meaning of these terms (see section, Chapter 1). This reflects the fact that, despite the importance of politeness during social interactions, and although people can evaluate the behaviour of others as being polite or impolite, the exact conceptions of 'politeness' and 'impoliteness' appear to be very difficult. Sifianou (1992) attributes this problem to two main factors: first, the abstract nature of such terms makes them 'very tricky'; and, second, such concepts are not restricted to verbal behaviour alone. However, the difficulty with defining politeness and impoliteness can also be attributed to other factors which affect the informants' choices, such as sex, educational and cultural background, age, social class, and so on. The English informants defined politeness and impoliteness more clearly than the Libyans and their definitions were narrower than the Arabic ones. There was a greater consensus among them about the concept of politeness and impoliteness than among the Libyan informants. However, both the Arab and English informants offered broad answers in terms of the definition of politeness and impoliteness.

#### **6.2.1.1. Definitions of Politeness**

The major similarity between the Libyan and English informants is that politeness appears to be highly valued by both groups. However, although consideration for others' feelings is an important aspect of politeness in both societies, the English informants, as I have mentioned,

provided clearer definitions. For them, consideration towards others can be indicated by conforming to expectations, conventions and social norms and emphasizing the expression of good manners including the display of respect, courtesy, patience, tolerance, and the use of standard forms such as 'please', 'sorry' and 'thanks' in appropriate situations (see the English participants' answers in Appendix B, pp. 38-69). The Libyan informants also included consideration for other people as indicating good manners, but expanded the definitions of the concept of politeness to include honesty, truthfulness, respect for older people, and indexing the morality generated from the teachings of Islam (which can be attributed to religious dominance in Libyan society). No English participant mentioned such behaviour as indicative of politeness (see the Arab participants' answers in Appendix A pp. 3-36). Another interesting difference between the Libyans and British English is that some Libyan informants considered politeness as behaviour that should be taught and acquired at home through parental teaching.

Another difference that should be noted is that the English participants emphasized the importance of using polite expressions such as 'please', 'sorry' and 'thank you' to indicate apologies or gratitude. These terms were not only seen as an important element to indicate politeness, but that their absence might be seen as rude or impolite. This justifies Culpeper's (2011) claim that such items are generally considered to be the icons of English politeness; thus, they are frequent in every-day interactions in English society. However, no Libyan informant mentioned such examples to indicate polite behaviour. This is not because these items are never used in social life in Libyan society (although they are used less frequently than by the English), but because the Libyans do not seem to appreciate such expressions to the same degree, especially in family settings. For example, in one of the English recorded conversations I collected for this research, which took place among

members of the same family (a mother with two sons) lasting about 37:54 minutes, apologies and gratitude expressions occurred about thirteen times (6 for sorry, 5 for please and 2 for thanks and thank you [one of the latter used as sarcasm, so it was not counted]).<sup>119</sup> On the other hand, in three separate Arabic recorded conversations (lasting about 53 minutes in total), which also took place among people who belong to three different families, none of these items were expressed.<sup>120</sup> It should be noted that all of the conversations, both Arabic and English, took place either at lunch time or tea time, so they occur in similar situations. Agha (2007) provides an explanation for such phenomenon by suggesting that, in such cases, the social effects of a given language can be linked to specific semiotic displays that yield from semiotic encounters which are made according to “a particular sign-phenomenon or communicative process connects persons to each other” (Agha, 2007: 10).<sup>121</sup> As a result, only individuals who have the requisite cultural and historical background are able to recognise the association between certain forms of speech and their cultural values (e.g. good vs. bad speech), because they are socialized with such distinctions, while it is difficult for those who lack these requisites to recognise these distinctions. Such a process creates what is known as ‘linguistic ideologies’, which play a significant role in judging certain behaviour to be acceptable in a given community.<sup>122</sup> That is, “[s]peakers of languages develop habits and conventions which tend to be constructed and evaluated as “correct” by dominant groups”

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<sup>119</sup>However, as Coulmas (1981) suggests, the meaning and meaningfulness of such expressions can be affected by their routine usage, as they might be “perceived as hackneyed expressions having lost their expressiveness. They do not lack meaning in a strict sense altogether...[but] frequency of occurrence and meaningfulness are inversely related” (Coulmas, 1981: 4).

<sup>120</sup>In familial contexts in Libyan society, people tend to employ informality so, because such terms (e.g. please and thank you) may reflect formality and social distance, they are usually avoided in family settings.

<sup>121</sup> The social effects of language can tell us something about the interlocutors, such as their status, gender, class, education, social groups and so on. Such social effects which, according to Agha (2007), are mediated by linguistic (such as oral or printed speech) and non-linguistic (such as gesture and clothing) features, are evaluated according to the situation or context.

<sup>122</sup> See section 1.4. for a discussion of linguistic ideologies.

(Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Therefore, “a framework relative to which the interactional appropriateness of a particular usage as well as its consequences or entailment...are understood in any given culture” (Agha, 2007: 63). Thus, whereas gratitude and apology expressions might be seen to be dispreferred, especially in familial contexts in Libyan society, in English, the use of such expressions is preferred or even required.

#### **6.2.1.2. Definitions of Impoliteness**

As I mentioned above, the definitions of impoliteness by the Libyan and English informants were diverse. However, despite the agreement between the two groups regarding their view of impoliteness as a form of lack of consideration for others, the English informants' definitions in general, as in the case of defining politeness, were shorter and more straightforward. For them, impoliteness was indicated by rudeness, ignoring other's needs and feelings, selfishness, disrespectfulness and breaking conventions, both verbal (such as not saying 'please' or 'thank you') and non-verbal (such as pushing into a queue). It is interesting to mention that several English informants' definitions of impoliteness (10 out of 25) were simply the opposite of their definitions of politeness, as illustrated in table (6.1). This might be attributed to the notion that lacking polite behaviour might be judged as impolite.<sup>123</sup>

The Libyan informants also considered impoliteness as a kind of lack of consideration for others' feelings, but offered more varied, broader definitions of the concept of impoliteness than did the English. Impolite behaviour for them includes cheating, lying,

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<sup>123</sup>However, although impoliteness might be seen as opposite to politeness, as Eelen (2001) argues, “they are not equal in evaluative scope: where impolite(ness) always implies a negative qualification, polite(ness) can be positive as well as negative” (Eelen, 2001: 37), such as when it is used insincerely, or as a mask to achieve particular goals.

dishonesty, failing to respect older people and any offensive behaviour both verbal (such as speaking loudly, interrupting others, swearing and so on) and non-verbal (such as pushing into a queue). However, the main difference between the Libyan and English informants is that many of the former, as in the case of defining politeness, considered not conforming to Islamic teachings as a form of impolite behaviour, which again, shows the significant role that religion plays in Libyan society.<sup>124</sup> Another difference between the two groups is that some of the Libyan participants perceived impoliteness as a result of a bad upbringing. Thus, impolite behaviour is not seen as something related only to the person themselves, but also to the social environment in which they live or to which they belong.

## **6.2.2. Native Speakers' Concept of Indirectness**

### **6.2.2.1. Definitions of Indirectness**

The definitions of indirectness that were provided by both my Arab and English informants were restricted to the type of speech that requires a degree of inferential work, such as hints. In other words, the meaning of the speech is implied rather than expressed. No English or Libyan informant considered what is linguistically known as 'conventional indirectness' as a form of indirect speech.<sup>125</sup> However, my informants' answers clearly illustrate that the concept of indirectness seems to be different in these two societies. Furthermore, the

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<sup>124</sup>Eelen (2001) points out that religion is usually described as a minor cultural factor in cultural research. However, in Libyan society, it seems to play an important role in everyday social life, and my informants' definitions reflect its importance.

<sup>125</sup>Such conventional indirectness is actually seen as a direct form of speech. For example, one English informant (see Questionnaire B-2, p. 4) considers such a type as direct, pointing out that 'I prefer to use directness for simple communications – for example, "could you pass me that knife?" However, in answering question (7), where my informants were asked to provide some examples about indirectness, some of the English informants gave examples where 'conventional indirectness' were described as *less* direct than other forms.

examples provided by the informants indicating indirectness (see question 7 on the questionnaire) illustrate this difference.

Despite the diversity of the answers, there seems to be some consensus among the English participants about the concept of indirectness. For them, indirectness can be defined in the following ways, which are illustrated in Table (6.2) below:

**TABLE (6.1): English Informants' Definitions of Indirectness**

Type of Indirectness Mentioned by the Informants	The informants' Definitions
<b>1- Ambiguity</b>	1- Evasive or vague.
	2- Being evasive.
	3- Communicating in a way that allows ambiguity.
	4- Evasion.
	5- Subtleness
<b>2- Going around the Main Point</b>	1- Talking around the issue, not getting to the point.
	2- Someone who skirts around the main point they want to make.
	3- Going round the house.
	4- When people skirt around what they are trying to say.
<b>3- Avoiding Directness</b>	1- A way of communicating in which there is an expectation that saying the thing directly is somehow rude or impolite.
	2- Using wordings which avoid explicit judgements or conclusions.
	3- Where you don't speak your mind
	4- Not being direct in approaching something.
	5- Avoiding unpleasant truths by hinting/evading rather than going straight to the point.
	6- When someone is not straightforward in their request or comment.
<b>4- Implying Meanings</b>	1- Any speech act whose function isn't that of the format expectations of the syntax.
	2- Not saying literally what you mean.
	3- Not saying what you mean.



	4- Not saying exactly what you mean straight away.
	5- When meaning is derived as an implicature rather than (only) from the proposition expressed in an utterance. Also when communication is covert.
	6- Responding to a question through circumlocution; avoiding saying explicitly what can be implied - either to avoid hurting the feelings of the other; or to avoid having to take sides or adopt a position.
	7- Implying something without going right out and saying it.
<b>5- Avoiding Eye Contact</b>	1- Avoiding eye contact.
	2- Speaking to someone and not looking at them while you speak.
<b>6- Informal Addressing</b>	1- Not addressing the person formally.

As these definitions clearly illustrate, there is no single way to define indirectness, as it seems not possible to agree on a specific meaning. However, there are some concepts among these definitions which are more common than others within the linguistic field. For example, ‘implying meanings’ and ‘ambiguity’ are the main characteristics that are usually used to describe indirectness, while others, such as ‘avoiding eye contact’, or ‘not addressing people formally’, are less common or unusual. Some of the British informants (6 out of the 25) perceived indirectness as simply the opposite of directness which, in turn, was seen as dispreferred behaviour that must be avoided. It is also interesting to note that some of the definitions that were used to describe indirectness were themselves indirect (such as going round the houses, skirting around the truth, and so on). These expressions’ literal meanings, as Coulmas (1981) points out, are erased and thus turn into idioms, as “their meanings often are quite different from the sums of their parts, and cannot be properly explained without reference to the conditions of their use” (Coulmas, 1981: 5). The frequency of employing such idiomatic expressions in a given language, Coulmas argues, makes them routine

expressions which have a special status in a certain social community, and are shared by its members. For this reason, Coulmas sheds light on the importance of the cultural knowledge of routines for acquiring a foreign language, because focusing on the meaning of individual words does not guarantee a full understanding of a certain routine.<sup>126</sup> Evidence for this assumption is presented by Coulmas (1981), who refers to a Japanese scholar's description of the difficulty he experienced when dealing with the phrase 'please help yourself', which had an unpleasant effect on him during his stay in the United States before he had become used to English conversation. Before recognising that it simply means 'please take what you wish without hesitation', he translated it literally as 'nobody else will help you', which he saw as impolite.

The Libyan informants also gave varied responses concerning the concept of indirectness. These variations reflect the different concepts of indirectness in these two cultures. However, there seems to be some agreement among the Libyan informants about this concept. For them, indirectness can be defined in the following ways:

### *Libyan Arabic Informants' Definitions of Indirectness*

#### **1- Conveying Hidden Impolite Messages**

		اللمز ʔallamz insinuation	و wa and	1- بالهمز bilhamz prod with
<b>1- A</b>	Prodding and insinuation.			

		اللمز ʔallamz insinuation	و wa and	الهمز ʔalhamz prod	و wa and	2- الاشارات ʔalʔifara:t signs
<b>2- B</b>	Innuendo, prodding and insinuation.					

<sup>126</sup>See Section 3.5. for a detailed discussion about mastering foreign languages and intercultural misunderstandings.

1-	يمكن تعريفه بما يعرف في اللهجة الليبية "بضرب المعاني"	ʔalmaʕa:nj	bidʕarb	ʔallibi:a	ʔallahʒa	fj	juʕraf	bima	taʕri:fuh	jumkin
	the meaning beating the libyan the dialect in known that it define possible									
3- C	It can be defined as what is known in Libyan dialect as 'making meanings'. <sup>127</sup>									

2-	هو "تلقيح" أو ضرب معاني توصيل كلمة سيئة بدون قصد	qasʕd	bidu:n	saji:ʔa	kalmia	tawsʕi:l	maʕa:nj	dʕarb	ʔaw	talqi:h	hwa
	intention without bad word conveying meanings beating or vaccinating it										
4- D	It is 'injecting' or 'making meanings', conveying bad words <u>unintentionally</u>										

	أو بطريقة غير مباشرة	muba:ʕera	rajr	bitʕaari:qa	ʔaw
	direct not way with or				
D-	or in an indirect way.				

3-	هو انك تقول كلام مش كويس علي شخص انت متعمد	mitʕammad	ʔinta	ʕajsʕ	ʕala	kwai:s	mif	kala:m	tqu:l	ʔinnik	hwa
	deliberate you person on good not speech say you you that it										
5- E	When you say something bad to someone deliberately,										

	بس تقول فيه بطريقة غير مباشرة (تلقيح)	talqi:h	muba:ʕera	rajr	bitʕaari:qa	fi:h	tqu:l	bas
	vaccinating direct not way with it in say you but							
E-	but you say it in an indirect way.							

1-	هو اللف و الدوران حول الموضوع أو الوخر بالابر زي ما نقولوا	nqulu:	ma	zaj	bilʔibar	ʔalwayʒ	ʔaw	ʔalmawdʕu:ʕ	hawl	ʔaddawara:n	wa	ʔallaf	hwa
	say we like as needles injecting or the subject around spinning and turning it												
6- F	It is turning around the issue or 'pricking needles' as we say {in our society}.												

7-	الكلام الغير المباشر الذي يجرح الشخص سواء كان فيه أو لا	la	ʔaw	fi:h	ka:n	sawaʔ	ʔaffajsʕ	jazrah	ʔallaj	ʔalmuba:ʕer	ʔalrajr	ʔalkal:m
	not or him in if same the person hurt he that the direct the not the speech											
7- G	Indirect speech is the type of speech that hurts people, whether it is true or not.											

	هذا الكلام لا يخرج الا من شخص جبان و متكبر و صاحب فتنة	fitna	sʕa:hib	wa	mutakabbir	wa	zaba:n	ʕajsʕ	min	ʔilla	jayʕruz	la	ʔalkala:m	hada
	discord of and arrogant and coward person from except out no the speech this													
G-	This kind of speech is used only by a cowardly, arrogant and mischievous person.													

<sup>127</sup> An idiom used to describe a hidden impolite message intended to be hurting.

## 2- Generalizing Meanings

1- H	هو	مخاطبة	الأشخاص	من دون	أن	تنادي	الشخص	باسمه
	hwa	muxat'abat	?al?affxas'?	du:n min	?an	tuna:dj	?affxas'	bi?ismah
	it	speaking	the persons	without	that	call you	the person	his name with
1- H   It is talking to people in general without mentioning the target's name								

H-	و	تقول	له	ما تريد	(توجيه	الكلام	للشخص	دون
	wa	taqu:l	lah	ma:turi:d	tawzi:h	?alkala:m	li?ffxas'	du:n
	and	say you	him to	want you what	directing	the speech	the person to	without
H-   and you say what you want to him/her (when you mean a specific person without								

H-	ذكر	اسمه
	ðikr	?ismih
	mentioning	His name
H-   mentioning their name).		

2- I	هو	ما	يقال	للعامه	و	يمسك	شخصيا
	hwa	ma	juqa:l	lil?a:mmah	wa	jamussak	?axs'ian
	it	that	said it	general to	and	you touch it	personally
2- I   Speaking in general while the comment is targeted at one person.							

3- J	الكلام	الغير	المباشر	هو	كلام	يصدر	عن	الانسان
	?alkala:m	?al?air	?almuba:fer	hwa	kala:m	jas'dur	?an	?al?insa:n
	the speech	the not	the direct	it	speech	come it	from	the human
3- J   Indirect speech is employed by somebody								

J-	و	لكن	دون	أن	يوجه	لشخص	بعينه	و	الغرض	منه
	wa	lakin	du:n	?an	juwazjih	li?axs'	bi?ajnih	wa	?al?arad'	minh
	and	but	without	that	direct	person to	specific	and	the purpose	it from
J-   without specifying names, and is used										

J-	أن	يصل	مضمون	الكلام	لمن	هو	مقصود	به
	?an	jas'il	mad'mu:n	?alkala:m	liman	hwa	maqs'u:d	bihi
	that	reach it	content	the speech	who to	he	meant it	it with
J-   to convey the content of the speech to a specific person.								

4- K	هو	الكلام	الذي	يعمم	بصفة	عامه	لمنع	الاحراج
	hwa	?alkala:m	?allaðj	ju?ammam	bis'ifah	?a:mmat	liman?	?al?ihra:3
	it	the speech	that	generalize	in	generally	prevent to	the embarrassment
4- K   Speaking in general to avoid embarrassing others								

K-	أو	يسبب	مشاكل	مع	الشخص	المعني	بالكلام
	?aw	jusabbib	mafa:kil	mafa	?affxas'	?alma?na	bilkala:m
	or	cause it	with problems	with	the person	the meaning	the speech with
K-   or to avoid causing problems with the person to whom the comment is targeted.							

5- هو الكلام تقصد به شخص معين و تتغاضى أن تقوله taqu:lahu ?an tatarad'a wa muʃajn ʃaxs <sup>s</sup> bih tuqs <sup>s</sup> ud ?alkala:m hwa say you that prefer you and certain person it with mean you the speech it
5- L   Speaking in general when you mean a specific person to avoid

له مباشرة خوفا من احراج ?ihra:zih min ʒawfan muba:ʃaratan lahu him embarrassing of afraid directly him to
L- embarrassing them.

6- الكلام الغير المباشر هو الكلام الذي لا يكون حسب hasab jaku:n la ?allaðj ?alkala:m hwa ?almuba:ʃer ?alʒajr ?alkala:m according be no that the speech it the direct the not the speech
6- M   Indirect speech is the kind of speech that is different from

المعنى مباشر و في العادة يكون كلام عام. ʕa:m kala:m jak:n ?alʕadah fj wa muba:ʃer ?almaʕna general speech be the usually in and direct the meaning
M- direct speech and it is usually general speech.

7- تبليغ يلي يدور في راسك للي قاعد قدامك من غير rajr min qiddamik qa:ʕid lillj ra:sik fj jadu:r jallj tabli:ʕ not without you front sitting who to your head in turning that conveying
7- N   Conveying the meaning you want to a certain person without

ما يفهمها حد من اللي حداك. hada:k ?illj min had jafhamha ma you beside who from one it understand he not
N- being understood by others in the gathering.

### 3- Implying Meanings

1- هو الكلام الذي ظاهره لا يعني بباطنه بمعنى ان الكلام ?alkalam ?an bimaʕnaba:t <sup>s</sup> inah jaʕnj la ð <sup>s</sup> a:hirah ?allaðj ?alkal:m hwa the speech that mean it its content mean no it literal that the speech it
1- O   When meaning is different from the words uttered, in other words,

الغير مباشر يجب على المستمع ان يفهمه بدون التركيز ?attarki:z bidu:n jafhamah ?an ?almustamiʕ ʕala jazib muba:ʃer ?alʒajr the focusing without it understand he that the hearer on must direct the not
O- the hearer should understand the implied meaning without focusing

على معاني مفردات الجمل المنطوقة من قبل المتحدث. ?almutahaddiθ qibal min ?almantu:qa ?alzumal mufrada:t maʕa:nj ʕala The speaker by from the uttered the sentences vocabulary meanings on
O- on the words uttered by the speaker.

2-	هو	توجيهه	كلام	لشخص	و	المراد	منه	معنى	اخر.
	hwa	tawzi:h	kala:m	lifaxs <sup>ʕ</sup>	wa	ʔalmura:d	minh	maʕna	ʔa:ɣar
	it	direct	speech	person to	and	the wanted	it from	meaning	another
2- P	Not saying what you mean.								

3-	هو	كلام	مبطن	يقال	بشكل	معين	يراد	منه	معنى	اخر
	hwa	kala:m	mubat <sup>ʕ</sup> an	juqa:l	biʕakil	muʕajan	jura:d	minh	maʕna	ʔa:ɣar
	it	speech	hidden	said it	form in	specific	wanted	it from	meaning	another
3- Q	It is an implied speech which said in a specific way to convey a different meaning									

	قد	يكون	معنى	طيب	او	معنى	سئ.
	jaku:n	qad	maʕna	t <sup>ʕ</sup> aji:b	ʔaw	maʕna	saj?
	be	may	meaning	nice	or	bad meaning	
Q-	which might be good or bad.						

4-	هو	الذي	يراد	به	معنى	اخر	غير	الذي	نطق	به
	hwa	ʔallaðj	jurad	bihi	maʕna	ʔa:ɣar	rajr	ʔallaðj	nut <sup>ʕ</sup> iq	bih
	it	that	wanted it	it with	meaning	another	not	that	uttered it	it with
4- R	The meaning is different from the words uttered									

	او	كلام	يقصد	به	المعنى	البعيد.
	ʔaw	kala:m	juqs <sup>ʕ</sup> ad	bihi	ʔalmaʕna	ʔalbaʕi:d
	or	speech	meant it	it with	the meaning	the far
R-	or it can be a distant meaning.					

5-	كلام	منقول	او	ملح	به	لشخص	معين	او	مقصود.
	kala:m	manqu:l	ʔaw	mulammah	bih	lifaxs <sup>ʕ</sup>	muʕajan	ʔaw	maqsu:d
	speech	or conveyed	or	hinted	it with	person to	specific	or	meant
5- S	To send hints or hidden messages to a specific person.								

6-	حسب	اعتقادي	الكلام	غير	المباشر	هو	انك	تريد	ان	تقول
	hasab	ʔiʕtiqa:dj	ʔalkala:m	rajr	ʔalmuba:fer	hwa	ʔannak	turi:d	ʔan	taqu:l
	according	my opinion	the speech	not	the direct	it	you that	want you	say you	that
6- T	In my opinion indirect speech is when you									

	فكرة	او	امر	و	لا	تريد	ان	تجرح	به	الشخص	الذي	امامك
	ʔaw	fikra	ʔamr	wa	la	turi:d	ʔan	tuzrah	bih	ʔaffx <sup>ʕ</sup> s	ʔallaðj	ʔamamak
	or	idea	thing	and	no	want you	that	hurt	it with	the person	that	you front
T-	say something and you do not want to hurt the person meant by the speech,											

	فتلجا	الى	امثلة	و	اسماء	اخرى.
	ʔila	fatalza?	ʔamθilah	wa	ʔasama:ʔ	ʔauxra
	to	use so	examples	and	names	other
T-	so you use some examples and other names.					

7-	يمكن التعرف على الكلام الغير مباشر من ضمن سياق الكلام.	ʔalkala:m si:a:q dʕimni min muba:fer ʔalrajr ʔalkala:m ʕala ʔattaʕarruf jumkin	the speech context according from direct the not the speech to the knowing might
7- U	Indirect speech can be understood through the context of the speech		

	و موضوع المحادثة	ʔalmuħa:daθah mawdʕu:ʕ wa	the speech topic and
U-	and the topic of the conversation.		

8-	من خلال حديث الشخص في بعض المواقف باعطاء امثلة	ʔamθilah biʔiʕtʕaʔ ʔalmawa:qif baʕdʕ fj ʔaʕʕaʕsʕ hadi:θ ʕila:l min	examples giving with the situations some in the person speech through from
8- V	Through the person's speech in certain contexts by giving examples		

	لتوجيه المتلقي الى نقطة معينة لسبب ما لا يريد ان	ʔan juri:d la ma lisabab muʕajana nuqta ʔila ʔalmutalaqqj litawzi:h	that want he no some reason to certain point to the hearer direct to
V-	to guide the hearer to a specific point which, for some reason, is is not spoken		

	يووجهه فيه.	fi:h jua:ziħuh	it of him confront
V-	directly.		

#### 4- Reaching the Goal through Longer Phrases

1-	الكلام الغير المباشر هو عملية محاولة الشخص	ʔalkala:m ʔalrajr ʔalmuba:fer hwa ʕamaliat muħawalat ʔaʕaʕsʕ	the speech the not the direct it operation attempt the person
1- W	Indirect speech is an attempt by a person		

	للوصول الى الهدف بطريقة أطول	lilwu:sʕu:l ʔila ʔalħadaf bitʕarri:qa ʔatʕwal	the reaching to to the target the way with longer
W	to reach their goal in a longer way.		

2-	هو الوصول للغاية التي يريد بها بعبارة غير مباشرة	hwa ʔalwu:sʕu:l lilraja ʔallatj juri:duha biʕibara:t ʕajr muba:fera ʕajr	it the reaching the goal to that he want it with expressions not direct
2- X	Reaching the goal through indirect expressions.		

3-	هو ما نستخدمه عادة للوصول للآخرين بفكرة معينة	hwa ma nastaxdimuhu ʕadatan lilwu:sʕu:l lilʔa:ʕari:n bifikra muʕajana	it what we use it usually the reaching to the others to with idea specific
3-Y	It is what we usually use to convey a specific idea to others		

أو اعطاء الرأي في موضوع باستخدام قدر كبير من التفاصيل	ʔaw	ʔiʕtʕaʔ	ʔarraʔj	fj	mawdʕu:ʕ	bistiʕda:m	qadr	kabi:r	min	ʔattafasʕi:l
or giving opinion in topic using with amount of the details										
Y	or give an opinion about a certain topic using lots of details									

التي قد يراها البعض كلام غير مباشر و أحيانا	ʔallatj	qad	jaraha	ʔalbaʕdʕ	kala:m	rajr	mubaʕer	wa	ʔahjanan
that may it see they the some not direct and sometimes									
Y	which might be seen as indirect speech by some people, but sometimes								

لا تستحق بعض المواضيع مثل هذه المداخل	la	tastahiq	baʕdʕ	ʔalmawadʕi:ʕ	miθla	haðihi	ʔalmadaʕil
no deserve some the topics like this entries							
Y	some topics do not really need such details.						

The major similarity between the Libyan and British informants is their view that indirectness is a form of speech which can be conveyed implicitly.<sup>128</sup> In such cases, the interlocutors followed what is called ‘the ideology of personalism’, which focuses on the beliefs and intentions of the speaker rather than on the words uttered in order to interpret the hidden message (Hill, 2008). However, most of the definitions and functions of indirectness mentioned by the two groups differed. For example, although most of the definitions were neutral (23 English informants, and 15 Libyan informants, see Table 6.3 below), some of the Libyan informants (7 out of 25) mentioned cases where indirectness can be defined negatively (such as prodding, insinuation, hurting others and so on) (see Libyan informants’ answers from 1A-7G above). No English informant gave such negative definitions of indirect speech. In addition, as in the case with the English informants, the Libyan informants used certain metaphors and idioms to define indirectness.<sup>129</sup> However, while the idioms used by

<sup>128</sup>Generally speaking, as Tannen and Oztek (1981) argue, our understanding of utterances is probably contextual rather than simply literal. Thus, when “the speaker’s intention is clear, it does not matter what the words say literally” (Tannen and Oztek, 1981: 37)

<sup>129</sup>Coulmas (1981: 6) argues that “successful metaphors turn into idioms, and many idioms are metaphorically transparent”, and that such metaphorical idioms “have become associated in everyone’s mind and are often



the English were neutral and described the meaning rather than the function (see the English definitions in table 6.2 above), the Libyans' idioms were restricted only to the negative function of indirectness,<sup>130</sup> (such as beating meanings, pricking needles, injecting and so on),<sup>131</sup> which are primarily used to send hidden impolite messages that are intended to hurt others. No Libyan participant mentioned any positive or neutral idioms, as was the case with the English informants. This is not because there are no neutral idioms for indirectness in Arabic, but because the most common idioms are those which hold negative meanings.<sup>132</sup> Given the fact that idioms are a reflection of the frequent occurrence of certain linguistic routines in a given social community, as mentioned above, indirectness seems to have negative connotations in Libyan society, so that the idiomatic expressions that were used were mostly negative. These idioms hold what is called a 'performative ideology', in which "words have an active force, that they can soothe or wound" (Hill, 2008: 40), so it is more about "how language makes people feel" (Hill, 2008: 40).<sup>133</sup> It is noteworthy that not only was indirectness described negatively, but also that using this type of speech was seen as an indication of an impolite person who was described as cowardly, arrogant and mischievous (see 7G of the Libyan informants' definitions of indirectness above). This raises the question of the possibility of treating indirectness equally cross-culturally, ignoring variations among and across cultures. However, few informants (3 Libyans and 2 English) gave positive definitions for indirectness. The following table illustrates these differences:

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repeated in sequence" (Tannen and Oztek, 1981: 37), and thus can be used to convey the speaker's intended meaning in similar situations.

<sup>130</sup> More of these expressions were provided by my female Libyan focus group informants (see Section 6.3.5.).

<sup>131</sup> I deliberately use the literal meaning of the Arab idioms rather than translating their meanings into English to show the actual metaphors that are used to describe the negative functions of indirectness.

<sup>132</sup> Evidence for this claim will be provided through analysing the Arabic focus group data.

<sup>133</sup> See Section 1.4. for further discussion of this ideology.

**Table (6.2): Responses to Question 3, Frequency and Percentage of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality**

Category of Indirectness	English		Libyans	
	No.	%	No.	%
Positive	2	8	3	12
Negative	0	0	7	28
Neutral	23	92	15	60
Both positive and negative	0	0	1	4

Another significant difference that should be noted between the Arab and English participants is that, while some of the English (5 out of 25) perceived indirectness as ambiguous and evasive, no Libyan informant considered it a sign of indirect speech.<sup>134</sup> This is interesting because most of the informants agreed that the intended meaning of indirectness is hidden and cannot be found in the words uttered, so the interlocutor needs to focus on assumptions about the speaker's intentions (according to the ideology of personalism) to understand the hidden message, and this does not guarantee that the right interpretation will be made. In my view, the reason for not mentioning ambiguity as an indication of indirectness is because the speaker wants his/her message to be understandable to the hearer, so he/she supposes it to be clear enough for the hearer to infer the intended meaning. For example, in the Arabic female focus group<sup>135</sup> the informants suggested that the speaker can

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<sup>134</sup>See Section 4.2. for more details about the definitions of indirectness.

<sup>135</sup>See Appendix (C) for the Arab female focus group data.

always find a way to send his/her message indirectly through using specific intonations and a certain way of speaking.<sup>136</sup>

‘Generalising meanings’ is also a definition provided by many of the Libya informants (8 out of 25) to describe indirectness. Such speech, as the informants themselves implied, is usually used to convey an ‘unpleasant message’ which might hurt the hearer or cause them trouble with the speaker, if stated directly (such as criticism or advice), and the examples provided by the informants indicating generalisation illustrate this point.<sup>137</sup> Another definition mentioned by some of the Arab informants (3 out of 25) included adding extra words to direct speech (which is seen as unnecessary by some of them) to reach a specific point; in other words, reaching the goal through the use of longer phrases. Although such a definition was not cited by any of my English informants on the questionnaire, it was mentioned by some of the English focus group participants.<sup>138</sup>

#### **6.2.2.2. Is Indirectness seen as Polite or Impolite by the Libyan and British Informants?**

The responses of my informants, both Libyans and British, to the question of whether indirectness is used for politeness or impoliteness (Do you think English (Libyan) people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?), were also diverse, illustrating different views about what constitutes indirectness in both societies. The main difference between the two groups is that the Libyan informants, in general, gave more

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<sup>136</sup> It is striking that, several members of my focus group pilot study point out that, although the intended message is hidden, it is clear, because it is wanted to be understood by the hearer, and the reason for conveying it indirectly is simply to allow deniability and thus avoid arguments. However, I still believe that indirectness holds some degree of ambiguity, because, in some cases, it is misunderstood.

<sup>137</sup> As I will show in analysing some responses to question 7 of the questionnaire, as well as some recorded data in Chapter 7.

<sup>138</sup> See Appendix (E) for the English focus group data, p. 184, lines 210- 211.

detailed answers than the English ones, and also supported these answers with examples that illustrate their views. As illustrated in Table (6.4) below, far more Libyans (13 out of 25) than English (4 out of 25) participants pointed out that indirectness is used more to indicate impoliteness, whereas more English (10 out of 25) than Libyans (6 out of 25) mentioned that indirect speech can be used for polite purposes. 6 Libyans and 9 British mentioned that indirectness can be double-edged. It should be noted that two of the British informants gave vague answers (one answered 'yes', and the other answered 'yes, sometimes'), so their answers were excluded.

***Table (6.3): Responses of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality Regarding the Purpose of using Indirectness***

Categories of Indirectness	English		Libyans	
	No.	%	No.	%
Polite	10	40	6	24
Impolite	4	16	13	52
Both	9	36	6	24

As this table clearly illustrates, there is a difference between the two groups concerning the concept of indirectness as being polite or impolite. According to the table, more than a third of the British informants think that English people use indirectness to be polite. However, one of them considered it annoying, because it is not truthful. This may justify Eelen's (2001) claim that politeness can be evaluated negatively at times, if it is seen as insincere or used as a mask to reach certain goals. Other British participants mentioned

that it can be used for both politeness and impoliteness.<sup>139</sup> However, those informants had different views regarding the judgement of indirectness as being polite or impolite. For example, 4 of them pointed out that it depends on the situation and context. Two others considered indirectness as being polite when used in everyday interaction, while indirectness, when impolite, is an attempt to hide the impoliteness and thus sound polite. One participant mentioned that indirectness is used to avoid unpleasantness or confrontation, and two others said that it is *directness* rather than indirectness that is frequently impolite or rude. Only one informant suggested that, although indirectness is largely used in an attempt to be polite, people can be highly unkind when speaking indirectly. The four people who saw indirectness as impolite did not comment on their choices.

More than the half of my Arab informants considered indirectness to be used more to indicate impoliteness than politeness. It is striking that two informants commented that indirectness to be impolite is used more by younger than older people. Another informant pointed out that indirectness is used by impolite people to embarrass others by focusing on their shortcomings and they can use very offensive words because the hearer cannot retaliate; otherwise, they would be more offended.<sup>140</sup> Two informants attributed using indirectness for impoliteness to the nature of the Libyans who, according to them, do not accept different views and thus use indirect speech to offend and insult others, while another informant

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<sup>139</sup> This is not to say that insincere behaviour is always evaluated negatively. For example, Pinto (2011) argues that, according to the results he obtained through questioning American informants, insincere communication can be polite because some “acts of kindness can be interpreted as a form of sincerity” (Pinto, 2011: 232). However, the interlocutor cannot be sure whether the behaviour is sincere or not due to the vague nature of sincerity. Thus, sincerity cannot be an assertive evaluation of polite behaviour. Thus, as Rothenbuhler (1998: 32) says, “[p]oliteness, whether it is motivated by caring for others or not, is one of the most powerful rituals of social order”.

<sup>140</sup> Examples will be provided when discussing the Libyan focus group data below.

attributed using indirectness as an impolite tool because Libyans 'fear confrontation'. Less than a quarter suggested that indirectness is used by Libyans when being polite. One polite situation that was mentioned by one of the informants in using indirectness is in requesting something that the speaker feels reluctant to request directly.

Thus, according to the informants' responses, both Arab and British, indirectness seems to hold different values in these two societies. Despite sharing the view that indirectness can be polite, impolite or both, the ideological and cultural background of the two groups seems to have an influence on their concept of indirect speech. For example, while some of the English informants saw indirectness as a way of hiding impoliteness by the speaker in order to be seen as polite, the Libyans considered using this type of speech as a means to offend and insult others deliberately in a way that allows deniability, so it is not intended to soften the meaning, as in the case with the English, but is intended to hurt. In other words, while using indirectness to be impolite is seen in English as an attempt by the speaker to save their own face as well as their interlocutor's face,<sup>141</sup> in Libya, it seems more about saving the speaker's own face and attacking the hearer's face.

#### **6.2.2.3. Are the British English Direct or Indirect?**

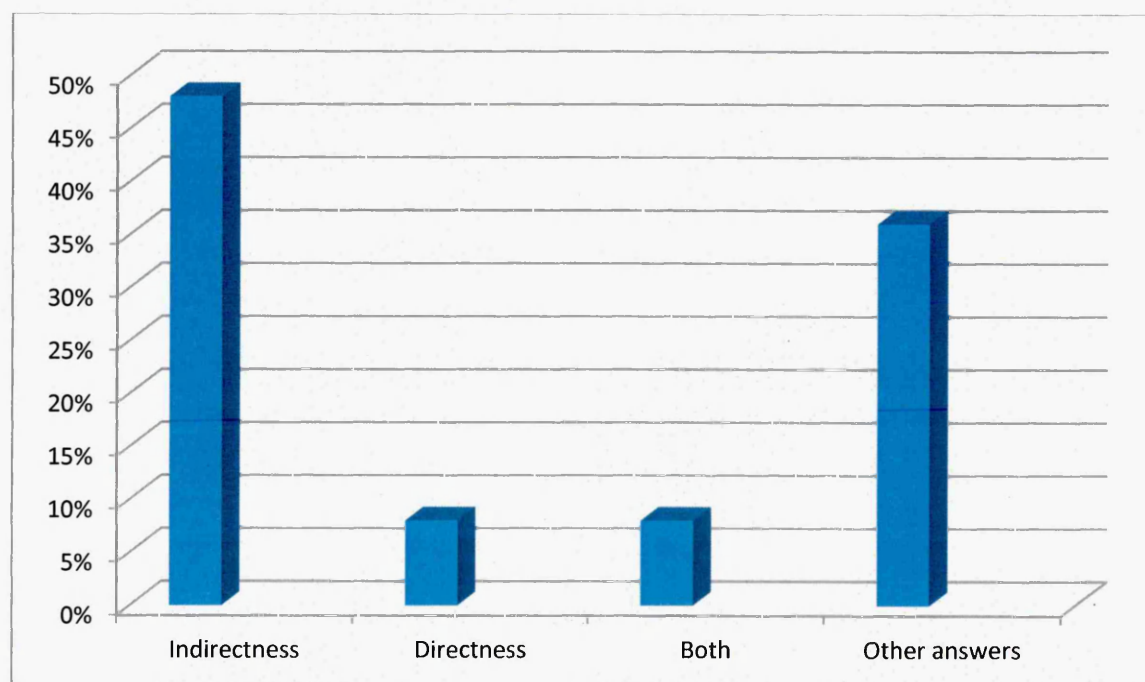
As I mentioned in 5.4.2., in my pilot questionnaire, the English informants gave general answers to a question concerning the situations in which they usually use indirectness, which did not serve the purpose of this research. For this reason, it was important to rephrase the question: 'do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?'

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<sup>141</sup>However, this is not to say that English people always use indirectness to mitigate impolite messages, as some of the English informants mentioned examples which show deliberate offence but, in general, and according to the informants' comments, it is likely that indirectness is seen as a way of mitigating offensive behaviour.

in order to enable the informants to give more specific answers. Twelve out of the 25 English informants indicated that they think that British people are less direct. One of the informants attributed using indirectness more to avoid being rude, implying that directness might be deemed as impolite. Another informant commented, 'it is our reputation'. Two informants stated that the English usually use both, and only 2 others considered British people to be more direct. However, other informants gave various answers. Some of them (5 out of 25) suggested that the English are more indirect compared to certain cultures (such as Germany, America, Spain, France, India and Israel), while they might be more direct compared to others (such as Japan and China). One informant said that indirectness is used more by older people, while another perceived it as a matter of power: people in authority use directness more, while less powerful people use indirectness more. Two informants did not give specific answers (one answered 'no idea', the other 'I do not know'). The following diagram illustrates the English informants' choices:

***Diagram (6.1) :Responses to Question (5) Concerning the Tendency to use Directness or Indirectness by a Sample of 25 Informants of English People***



From the results shown in the above diagram, it can be seen that there is a tendency for the British informants to describe British people as using indirectness more (48% of the informants). These results are largely affected by the 'linguistic ideologies' which influence the informants' choices according to their beliefs about their language. Such ideologies, according to Hill (2008), as I discussed in Chapter 1, enable the members of a given community to acquire and share certain beliefs that, along with other functions of linguistic ideologies, can "rationalize and justify what people understand to be the structures of their language...and the ways that language should be used" (Hill, 2008: 34). As a result, such ideologies are usually understood as 'common sense'.<sup>142</sup> This might justify one of my informant's comment that indirectness is the 'reputation of the English'. However, about half of my informants chose to answer this differently. That can provide evidence of the difficulty of making generalizations about indirectness or arguing that all British people prefer indirect speech, while ignoring the diversity among their culture. Thus, there may exist a tendency for the English to use indirectness, but this is not clear-cut or unequivocal.

#### **6.2.2.4. Situations in which Indirectness is usually used by the Libyans.**

The Libyan informants provided various answers regarding the situations in which they usually use indirectness, which can be polite (such as giving advice, making requests, avoiding arguments or causing problems, avoiding embarrassing others or criticising them directly, misunderstandings, speaking to superiors, talking in public places and so on); neutral (such as clarifying a certain point to a specific person,<sup>143</sup> hinting, generalising meanings and so on); or impolite (such as anger, criticising, mocking or offending others, accusing others,

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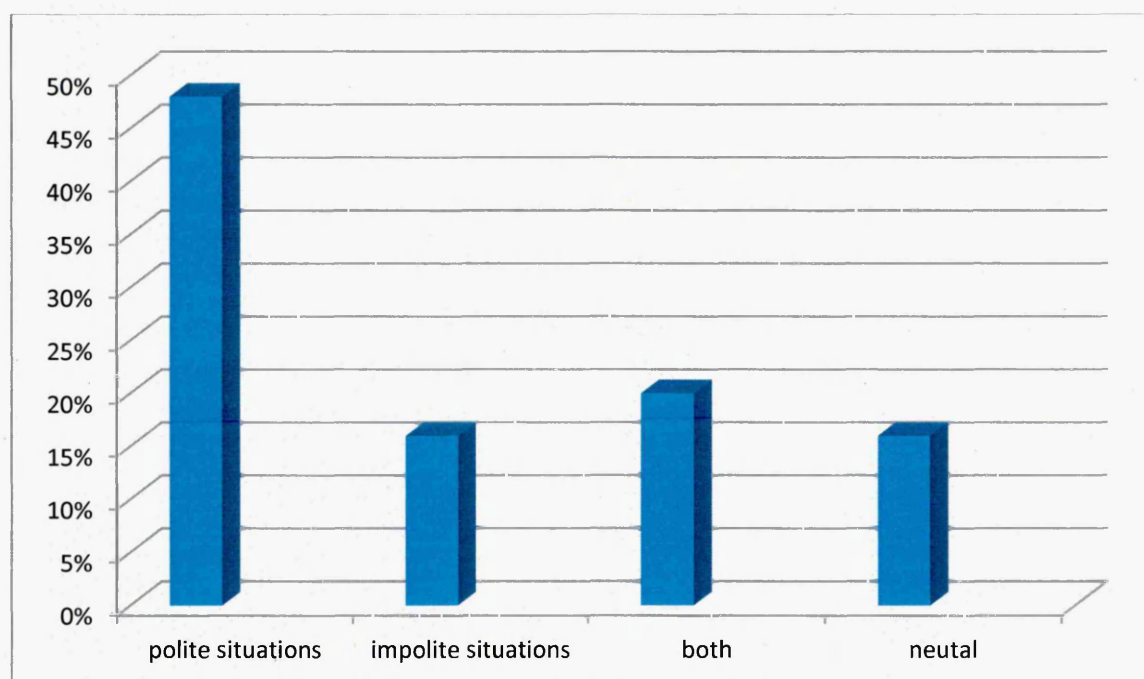
<sup>142</sup>See Section 1.4. for a discussion on the concept of common sense and linguistic ideologies in general.

<sup>143</sup>This is interesting because, usually, directness is used to clarify meaning rather than indirectness. This may support my claim that, although indirectness may hold some degree of ambiguity, it is usually clear enough for Libyan hearers to understand the message.



sending impolite messages, revenge,<sup>144</sup> and so on). Some informants considered indirect impolite speech to be more offensive than direct speech, because the hearers in such cases cannot retaliate or defend themselves.<sup>145</sup> It is striking that the highest number of Libyan informants (12 out of 25) considered themselves to use indirectness for polite purposes. Four others mentioned that indirectness can be used for neutral purposes, and 5 pointed out that they use it for both politeness and impoliteness. Even when they use indirectness impolitely, they justify it as defending themselves or others, avoiding arguments and so on. Only four informants mentioned that they use indirectness in impolite situations.

**Diagram (6.2): Responses to a Question Concerning Situations in which Indirectness is usually used by the Sample of 25 Libyan Informants**



<sup>144</sup>Revenge is a way of retaliating to an indirect offence which can be immediate or delayed. In such cases, the offended person uses the same indirect technique to show that they understand the message and are able to defend themselves. Examples of such situations will be provided with regard to the Arabic focus group discussion 6.3.2.

<sup>145</sup>Because indirectness is potentially deniable, it is sometimes difficult for the offended person to retaliate or defend themselves directly, as the offender simply denies any offensive intentions. Some examples will be discussed through analysing the focus group data related to the female Libyan informants 6.3.2.

Compared to the results I obtained from the responses to the question about whether indirect speech is used more for politeness or impoliteness (see the results in Table 6.4 in Section 6.2.2.2 above), it seems that the Libyans have different views regarding the usage of indirectness in general and their own use of such speech. Since people do not tend to see themselves as impolite, as Culpeper (2011) argues, but as polite, and the participants who described indirectness negatively, as I have shown above, appear to describe it as ‘common sense’ which reflects their belief about the use of indirectness by others. For example, Eelen argues that it is “others and their behaviour that trigger our evaluations: it is they who are (im)polite. We do not usually look at our own evaluations in a reflexive way but tend to take them for granted” (2001: 119). As a consequence, the Libyan informants chose polite situations to describe their own use of indirectness to show that they are *polite*. Thus, it is others who are *impolite* and they use indirectness impolitely.

#### 6.2.2.5. Which do Libyans and British prefer: being Direct or Indirect?

Question 6 of the questionnaire asked the participants, both Arab and British, whether they prefer to speak directly or indirectly and why. The English informants showed a tendency to describe themselves as using more direct forms (10 out of 25) than indirect ones (4 out of 25). Other informants (8 out of 25) pointed out that they use both directness and indirectness, while 3 informants provided different answers. The following Table (6.5) illustrates the English informants’ answers:

**TABLE (6.4): English Informants’ preference for Directness and Indirectness**

Informants’ Preference	The Reason behind their Choices
<b>Directness</b>	1- Because I'd know where I stand and it saves time.
	2- In general I prefer more direct forms of communication, but with courtesy and respect shown on both sides.
	3- Because you know where you stand with someone.
	4- Because you know where you stand with people and it's

	possible to say exactly what you mean without being rude.
	5- As it avoids confusion.
	6- I will speak to anyone to be friendly.
	7- It's speaking truthfully. What you really feel.
	8- Prefer it.
	9- Prefer people to be polite but to get to the point.
	10- I think compared with the 'average' British person I am slightly irritated sometimes by tokenistic politeness and the indirect forms associated with it.
<b>Indirectness</b>	1- as I sometimes think people who are direct can come across rude sometimes.
	2- I prefer indirectness but this isn't a strong preference. The less direct wording feels less authoritarian – and for me links to a sense of equality and social justice.
	3- Easier.
	4- I'm probably more given to indirect address. The reason would be that directness can be seen as aggressive and rude (by me as much as by any implied interlocutor).
<b>Both</b>	1- It depends on circumstances. <sup>146</sup>
	2- For information purpose – direct, for criticism indirect
	3- It depends on the context. <sup>147</sup>
	4- That would depend on the situation.
	5- It depends on the situation.
	6- Depends on purpose of exchange,
	7- Direct- when done in non-judgemental way. Indirect- when done to save face.
	8- Would depend on context- would prefer full truth of medical diagnosis but perhaps delivered kindly with a bit of social warning.
<b>Other Answers</b>	1- I don't know what I prefer – it depends who is talking to me.
	2- I don't really know. Honesty is a good thing.
	3- I prefer receiving direct, but don't always like to be direct if it means I will be mean/ rude

Although the answers to question 4 (do you think that when English people use indirectness they are being polite or impolite?) showed that about 10 out of the 25 informants considered indirectness to be used more for politeness, and the answers to question 5 (do you

<sup>146</sup>The informant's answer is rather long. See Questionnaire (B- 2) pp. 40-41, for the full answer.

<sup>147</sup>This informant also provided a long answer. See her full answer in Questionnaire (B- 6) p. 46.

think English people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?) also showed that about the half of the British informants describe British people as using indirectness more, and only 2 participants considered the British to be direct (see diagram 6.1 above). The answers to the above question concerning their own preference for directness or indirectness, meanwhile, showed that the English informants described themselves as using *directness* more than indirectness. These answers can be explained by linguistic ideologies (which clarified in section 2) which “are representations of how the difference between the way people feel that they or others *should* speak with the way they *do* speak” (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Thus, what the English believe to be ‘common sense’ about their language is not necessarily true of their own practice, but nor does it mean that these ideological beliefs are inaccurate. Rather, as Grainger et al. (2015) argue, although the conventions and norms in a given language are usually adopted by its users as correct, “each language and/or cultural group develops over time a different evaluation of these conventions, and even of the use of convention itself” (Grainger et al., 2015: 45). Thus, such results should not be seen as paradoxical.

Unlike their answers regarding defining politeness and impoliteness, the Arab informants’ answers concerning their preference for directness or indirectness were clearer and more straightforward than those of the English participants. As illustrated in the definitions below, the vast majority of my Libyan participants (18 out of 25) pointed out that they often use direct forms. Only 3 said that they prefer to be more indirect, while 4 mentioned that they use both forms. Again, since people have a tendency to describe themselves as polite, the participants, consciously or unconsciously, chose to describe themselves as using the form of speech that they may believe to be polite, which is directness,

and avoid forms which, according to certain ideological beliefs (which can be unnoticeable (Hill, 2008), might create a negative impression.

### *Libyan Informants' Preferences with regard to Directness and Indirectness*

#### 1- Directness

1- في	اغلب	الاحيان	استخدم	الكلام	المباشر
fj	?arlab	?al?ahia:n	?isti?da:m	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer
in	most	the times	use I	the speech	the direct
1- A	I mostly use direct speech.				

2- افضل	الكلام	المباشر	لان	الغير	مباشر	يشعري	بانه	يجب
?ufad <sup>el</sup>	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	li?anna	?alrajr	muba:fer	juf <sup>irun</sup> j	bi?annahu	jazib
I prefer	the speech	the direct	because	the not	the direct	me feel	that	must
2- B	I prefer direct speech because indirect speech makes me feel that I have to							

اختار	الجملة	و	الكلمات	بحيث	لا	يساء فهم	ما	ارمي	اليه
?aytar	?alzumal	wa	?alkalima:t	la bihajθ	jusa?	fahm	ma	?armj	?ilaih
I choose	the sentences	and	the words	no	to	misunderstood	what	I want	It to
B	choose my sentences and words carefully in a way that will not be misunderstood.								

3- لا	افضل	الكلام	الغير	مباشر	لانه	من	عدم	اللباقة
la	?ufad <sup>el</sup>	?alkala:m	?alrajr	muba:fer	li?annah	min	?adam	?allabaqa
no	I prefer	the speech	the not	direct	because	of	not	the tact
3- C	I don't prefer indirect speech because it is a type of inelegance.							

4- انا	افضل	استخدام	الكلام	المباشر	و	اذا	قمت	باستخدام
?ana	?ufad <sup>el</sup>	?isti?da:m	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	wa	?iða	qumt	bisti?da:m
I	I prefer	using	the speech	the direct	and	if	do I	using with
4- D	I prefer direct speech, but if I use							

الكلام	الغير	مباشر	فاني	استخدمه	في	حدود
?alkala:m	?alrajr	muba:fer	fa?innj	?astaxdimuhu	fj	huwdu:d
the speech	the not	direct	me that	it use I	in	limits
D	Indirect speech, I use it within					

الادب	و	الذوق.
?al?adab	wa	?aðawq
the politeness	and	the tact
D	politeness and tact limits.	

5-	استخدم	الكلام	المباشر	عادة	عندما	اكون مع	الشخص
	?astaxdim	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	?adatan	?indama	?aku:n	?affys <sup>f</sup>
	use I	the speech	the direct	usually	when	being I	the person with
5- E	I usually use direct speech in						

	وجها	لوجه	و	دون	وجود	احد	و	ذلك	لوضع
	wazhan	liwazh	wa	du:n	wuzu:d	?ahad	wa	ðalik	liwad <sup>f</sup>
	face	face to	and	without	availability	someone	and	to	put to
E	face to face interaction without the presence of anyone else to put								

	النقاط	ع	الحروف
	?anniqa:t <sup>f</sup>	?	?alhuru:f
	the points	on	letters
E	points on the letters. <sup>148</sup>		

6-	بصفة	عامة	كليبي	الكلام	الغير	مباشر	اما	كشخصي
	bis <sup>f</sup> ifa	?amma	kali:bj	?alkala:m	?alɤajr	muba:fer	?amma	kaɤajs <sup>f</sup> j
	general	on the whole	Libyan as	the speech	the not	direct	but	personally as
6- F	Libyans in general use indirect speech, but for me							

	الكلام	المباشر
	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer
	the speech	the direct
F	direct speech.	

7-	اعتقد	انهم	يفضلون	الكلام	المباشر	و	ربما	يرجع	ذلك
	?aɤtaqid	?annahum	jufad <sup>f</sup> ilu:n	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	wa	rubbama	jarzi <sup>f</sup>	ðalik
	I think	they	they prefer	the speech	the direct	and	may be	that belong	that
7- G	I think they prefer direct speech and this might be attributed								

	الى	العادات	الاجتماعية	و	كثرة	احتكاكهم	ببعضهم
	?ila	?alɤada:t	?al?iztimazi:a	wa	kuθrat	?ihtika:kihim	bibaɤd <sup>f</sup> ihim
	to	the habits	the social	and	many	them friction	together
G	to social norms and their closeness to each other						

	أو	ربما	يجدون	الكلام	الغير	مباشر	ثقيلًا	عليهم
	?aw	rubbama	jazidu:n	?alkala:m	?alɤajr	muba:fer	θaqi:lan	ɤalajhim
	or	may be	find they	the speech	the not	direct	heavy	them on
G	so they might see indirect speech as unsuitable for them.							

<sup>148</sup>An Arabic saying means 'to make everything clear for both sides in a discussion'.

8-	طبعاً	الكلام	المباشر	ليكون	فيه	نقاش	و	لو	كنت
	tʰabʕan	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:fer	ljaku:n	fi:h	niqa:f	wa	law	kunt
	of course	the speech	the direct	be to	it in	argument	and	if	was I
8- H	Of course direct speech to open the door for the discussion, and if I was								

	غلطانة	نعتذر.
	ʔaltʿana	naʕtaðer
	wrong I	apologize I
H	wrong I would apologize.	

9-	اعتقد	ان	الجيل	الجديد	أقل	استخداما	لهذا	النوع	من	الكلام
	ʔanna	ʔaʕtaqid	ʔalzi:l	ʔalzadi:d	ʔaqal	ʔistiɣdaman	lihaða	ʔannawʕ	min	ʔalkala:m
	I think	that	the generation	the new	less	using	this to	the kind	of	the speech
9- I	I think this type of speech is less commonly used by the younger generation									

	فمن	وجهة	نظري	كلما	ارتفع	مستوى	التعليم	و	الوازع
	famin	wizhat	naðʕarj	kullama	ʔirtafaʕ	ʔattaʕli:m	mustawa	wa	ʔalwa:ziʕ
	from	my view point	whenever	arise	education	level	and	faith	
I	because, in my view, the higher the level of education and religious								

	الديني	الذي	يوجه	لحسن	الخلق	كلما	قل	استخدام
	ʔaddi:nj	ʔallaðj	juwaʕzi:h	lihusn	ʔalyuluq	kullama	qal	ʔistiɣda:m
	the religious	that	to guide it	good	the moral	whenever	reduce	Using
I	faith, which directs to good manners, the lower the use							

	الكلام	غير	المباشر	في	غرض	غير	سوي.
	ʔalkala:m	rajr	ʔalmuba:fer	fj	ʔaradʕ	rajr	sawj
	the speech	not	the direct	in	purpose	not	good
I	of indirect speech for bad purposes.						

10-	الكلام	المباشر	لان	الصراحة	أحسن	حاجة	ماتجيش	تلقح	عليك
	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:fer	liʔanna	ʔasʕara:ha	ʔahsan	ha:ʕa	matzi:f	tlaqqah	ʕalajk
	the speech	the direct	because	the frank	better	thing	not come she	inject	you on
10-J	Direct speech, because being frank is much better than								

	و	تقول	كلام	مش	كويس	بطريقة	غير	مباشرة.
	wa	taqu:l	kala:m	mif	kwajsa	bitʕari:qa	rajr	muba:fera
	and	say she	speech	not	good	way in	not	direct
J	saying bad things indirectly.							

11-	الكلام	المباشر:	لاني	احب	الوضوح	في	حديثي
	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:fer	liʔannaj	ʔuhib	ʔalwudʕu:h	fj	hadi:θj
	the speech	the direct	me because	like I	the clarity	in	my speech
11- K	Direct speech because I like to be clear when I speak.						

12- L	Both, but mostly direct speech to convey information
الانثين و لكن غالبا	الكلام المباشر لتوصيل المعلومة
ʔalʔiθnajn	ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:fer ra:liban lakin wa ʔalmaʃlu:ma litawsʕi:l
the two and but often	the speech the direct convey to the information

L	or my view point in certain topic clearly.
او وجهة نظري في موضوع معين	ʔaw wizhat naðʕarj fj mawdʕu:ʕ muʃajan
or point in my view	specific topic

13-M	I prefer direct speech.
أفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر	ʔufadʕal ʔistiʔda:m ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:fer
I prefer I using the speech the direct	

14- N	I prefer direct speech because it describes what happens
أفضل الكلام المباشر لأنه يوصف الحدث	ʔufadʕal ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:fer liʔannah jusʕif ʔalhadaθ
I prefer I the speech the direct it because the event describe	

N	accurately.
بأكثر دقة	biʔakkθar diqqa
more with accuracy	

15- O	I prefer direct speech in dealing with others, because I think
أفضل الكلام المباشر في معاملاتي لان باعتقادي	ʔufadʕal ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:fer fj muʃa:mala:tj liʔanna biʔiʕtiqa:dj
I prefer I the speech the direct in my treatments because my belief	

O	direct speech is clear even if it is
الكلام المباشر يؤدي الى الوضوح اكثر و ان يكون	ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:fer juʔaddj ʔila ʔalwu:dʕu:h ʔakθar ʔan jaku:n
the speech the direct result to the clarity more even and be	

O	sometimes harsh.
في بعض الاحيان قاسي	fj baʕdʕ ʔalʔahja:n qa:sj
in some the times tough	

16- P	I prefer direct speech because it is suitable in all situations
أفضل الكلام المباشر لأنه الأنسب في جميع المواقف	ʔufadʕal ʔalkala:m ʔalmuba:fer liʔannah ʔalʔansab fj zami:ʕ ʔalmawa:qif
I prefer I the speech the direct because in all the situations	



كذلك	لأنه	يبعدك	عن	المجاملة	و	التناق.
kadalik	li?annah	ʕan jubʕiduk	wa	?almuʕamala:	?annifa:q	
also	it because	of you away	and	the complement	the hypocrisy	
P	and also because it keeps you away from complemints and hypocrisy.					

17- كليبية	حسب	الظروف	و	الحالة	الا	ان	ميولي	دائما
kali:bi:a	ḥasab	?alðʕwru:f	wa	?alhala	?illa	?anna	mju:lʒ	da?iman
Libyan as	according	and circumstances	but	the case	that	my tendency	always	
17- Q	As a Libyan, according to the circumstances and context, but for me, I always tend							

للكلام	المباشر	كأفضل	طريقة	للتعبير	(خير	الكلام
lilkala:m	?almuba:fer	kaʔafdʕal	tʕari:qa	littaʕbi:r	ʕajr	?alkala:m
speech to	the direct	best as	way	expression to	good	the speech
Q	to use direct speech as the best way for expression (good brevity					

ما	قل	و	دل).
ma	qal	wa	dal
that	reduced	and	sense
Q	makes sense). <sup>149</sup>		

18- استخدم	الكلام	المباشر	لأنه	أوضح	و	أصدق
?astaydim	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	li?annah	?awdʕah	wa	?asʕdaq
use I	the speech	the direct	because	clearer	and	better
18- R	I use direct speech because it is clearer and more truthful					

في	المعاملة	مع	البشر.
fj	?almuʕamala	maʕa	?albafar
in	the treatment	with	the humans
R	in dealing with people.		

## 2-Indirectness

1- أنا	أحيانا	أفضل	استخدام	الكلام	الغير	مباشر	(أي
?ana	?ahjanan	?afadʕel	?istiʕda:m	?alkala:m	?alrajr	muba:fer	?aj
I	sometimes	prefer I	using	the speech	the not	direct	namely
1-S	I sometimes prefer to use indirect speech (namely						

كلام	(المعاني)	لماذا-	لكي	يتكلموا	عن	الشخص	الذي	امامهم
kala:m	?almaʕanj	limaða	likaj	jatkallamw	ʕan	?affʕaysʕ	?allaðj	?amamahum
speech	the meaning	why	to	they speak	about	the person	that	them front
S	making meanings). Why? Because it enables people to speak about a certain person in a gathering							

<sup>149</sup> An Arabic proverb.

بكل	حرية	دون	ان	يبينوا	له	انه	هو	المقصود
bikul	hurri:a	du:n	?an	jubaji:nw	lahu	?innah	hwa	?almaqs'u:d
all with	freedom	without	that	clarify they	him to	that	he	the meant
S   more freedom without showing that he/she is intended								

بهذا	الكلام
bihaða	?alkala:m
that with	this speech
S   by this speech.	

2-	أفضل	الكلام	الغير	مباشر	و	ذلك	نظرا	لطبيعتي
	?ufad'al	?alkala:m	?alrajr	muba:fer	wa	ðalik	naðaran	lit'abi:fatj
	I prefer	the speech	the not	direct	and	because	because	my nature to
2-T   I prefer indirect speech because of my nature as								

و	شعوري	بالخجل	في	أحيان	و	مواقف	كثيرة.
wa	fwfu:rj	bilxazal	fj	?ahjan	wa	mawa:qif	kaði:ra
and	with my feeling	shyness	in	and times	and	situations	lots
T   a shy person, so I feel shy at most times and in most situations							

3-	غير	المباشر ...	لان	نتائج	الكلام	المباشر	قد	تؤدي
	rajr	?almuba:fer	li?anna	nata:ʔiz	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	qad	twʔaddj
	not	the direct	because	results	the speech	the direct	may	result
3- U   Indirect speech ... because direct speech may lead to some								

الى	ردة فعل	قد	تكون	غير	محبذة	أو	غير	مرغوبة.
?ila	fiʔl raddat	qad	taku:n	rajr	muhabbaða	?aw	rajr	marwu:ba
to	reaction	may	be	not	wanted	or	not	desirable
U   reactions which have undesirable results.								

### 3- Both Directness and Indirectness

1-	الكلام	المباشر	أحيانا	يكون	جرح	و	لكن	مطلوب
	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	?ahjnan	jaku:n	za:rih	wa	lakin	mat'lu:b
	the speech	the direct	sometimes	be	hurting	and	but	wanted
1- V   Direct speech sometimes is hurtful but required								

	خاصة	في	المعاملة	و	لكن	الكلام	الغير	المباشر	يكون	كصورة
	ʔas'atan	fj	?almuʕa:mala	wa	lakin	?alkala:m	?alrajr	?almuba:fer	jaku:n	kas'u:ra
	especially	in	the treatment	and	but	the speech	the not	the direct	be	picture as
V   especially in dealing with people, but indirect speech can be a polite way										

مؤدبة	عند	ايصال	نقد	ما	أو	شيء	لا	يعجبني	لشخص ما.
muʔaddaba	ʕinda	?i:s'a:l	naqd	ma	?aw	ʕajʔ	la	juʕzibnj	ma liʕaxs'
polite	when	conveying	criticism	something	or	something	no	like it	someone to

V	to send criticism or something I don't like to somebody.
---	--

2-	الاثنين ʔalʔiθni:n the two	على ʕala on	الموقف ʔalmawqif the situation	اللي ʔillj that	قدامي qiddamj me front
2- W	Both, according to the situation.				

3-	افضل ʔufadʕel prefer I	الكلام ʔalkala:m the speech	غير rajr not	المباشر ʔalmubafer the direct	في fj in	الاعراض ʔalʔaradʕ the purposes	الخيرة ʔalxaji:ra the good	سواء sawaʔan either
3- X	I like indirect speech when it is used for good purposes, such as							

	في fj in	التوجيه ʔattawzi:h the guiding	او ʔaw or	لتجنب litaʒannub avoid to	الاحراج ʔalʔihraz the embarrassment	او ʔaw or	طلب tʕalab request	شي ʃajʔ something
X	giving advice, avoiding embarrassment or requesting something							

	و wa and	اكرهها ʔakrahuha it hate I	جدا ziddan very	في fj in	الاعراض ʔalʔaradʕ the purposes	الشريرة ʔaʃferri:ra the evil	لانه liʔannah because	ليس lajsa not	لاحد liʔahad someone to	حق haq right
X	but I really hate it when it is used for evil purposes, because no one has the right									

	التدخل ʔattadaɣul the intervene	في fj in	الآخر ʔalʔaxar the other	و wa and	احراج ʔihra:ʒih him embarrass	بالتركيز bittarki:z focusing	على ʕala on	عيوب ʕju:b shortcomings	به bihi him in
X	to intervene in others' affairs or embarrass them by focusing on their shortcomings								

	او ʔaw or	اهانته ʔihanatah him offend	دون du:n without	ان ʔan that	يكون jaku:n be	له lahw him to	حق haq the right	في fj of	الرد ʔarrad the retaliation
X	or offend them when they can't retaliate.								

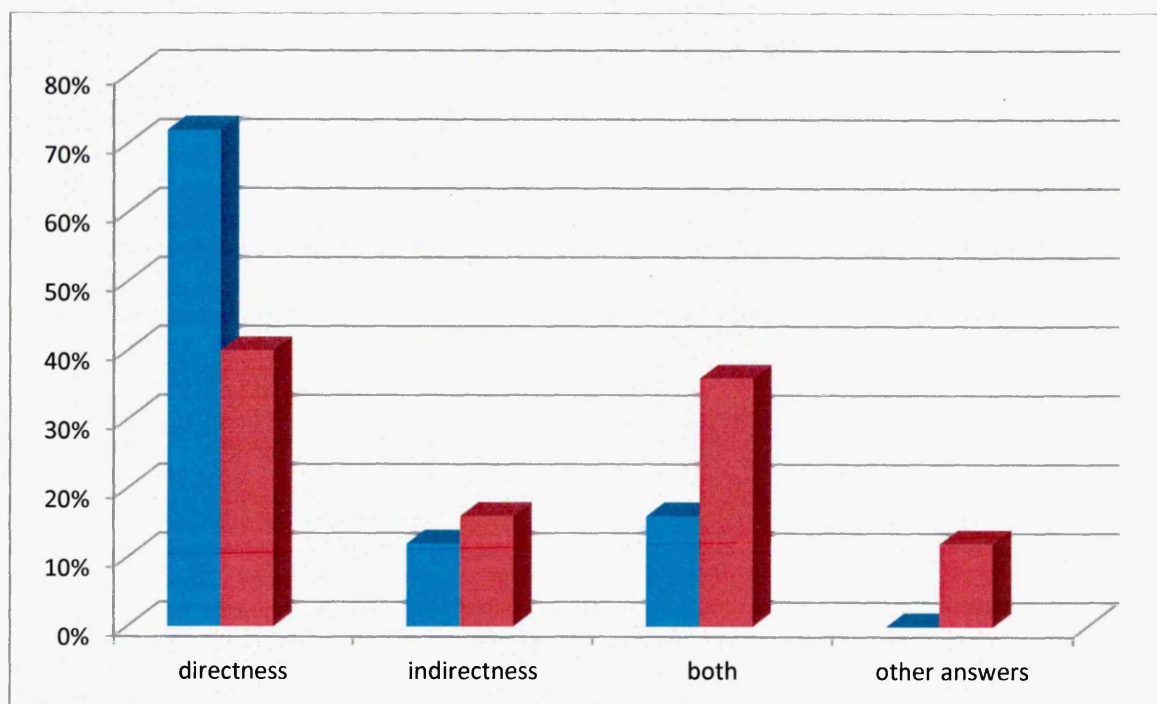
  

4-	حسب hasab according	الموقف ʔalmawqif the situation
4- Y	According to the situation.	

Despite the preferences of both groups for direct forms at the expense of indirect ones, the Arab informants (72%, about three-quarters of the informants) much more than the English (40%) claimed that they use directness more (see diagram (6.3) below). Furthermore, both groups provided various reasons to justify their choice of directness and indirectness

which clearly reflect the cultural and ideological values they hold. For example, the English informants who preferred directness mention that it enables them to know where they stand with others, it saves time, avoids confusion, is friendly, and indicates truthfulness. These results, thus, show that directness can indirectly index positive values in English (e.g. truthfulness, clarity, friendliness, honesty). However, two informants asserted the importance of speaking directly without being rude, implying that directness can appear rude sometimes.

**Diagram (6.3): Responses to Question (6), Percentage of a Sample of 25 Informants of each Nationality**



The reasons provided by the Libyan informants for using direct speech were different and demonstrated their ideological beliefs about indirectness as impolite. For example, one informant (see 3-C above) perceived indirectness as a kind of ‘inelegance’, so she (as a polite person) positions herself as standing above such *impolite* speech. Another informant (see 10-

J above) said that directness as frank speech is much better than conveying *bad* messages indirectly, implying that indirectness is usually linked to impoliteness. Misunderstandings and hypocrisy were the reasons mentioned for avoiding indirect speech, while truthfulness, clarity, closeness and accuracy were the reasons for using directness. It is striking that, unlike two informants, who linked using indirectness impolitely to young people in answering question (4) (concerning their view about the use of directness and indirectness by Libyans), in answering question (6), one informant (see 9-I above) associated using indirectness with the level of education and religious faith. Thus, she considered indirectness as less common among the younger generation, who are better educated. Furthermore, while some of the English informants asserted the possibility of using directness without being considered rude, one Libyan informant (see 4-D above) claimed that she tends to use directness but, if she uses indirectness, she does so within the limits of politeness and tact, implying that indirectness is not something that can be linked to polite behaviour. Another Libyan participant (see 6- F above) points out that Libyans in general use indirectness, but he said that himself used direct forms.

The main reason mentioned by the English respondents for using indirectness is to avoid rudeness, a judgement which might be evoked when speaking directly. But it is also used as it seems easier and creates a sense of equality. By contrast, the Libyan informants, who prefer indirect speech, gave different reasons for their choice, ranging from personal motives, such as feeling too shy to speak directly,<sup>150</sup> to general motives, such as using indirectness as a 'shell' to cover speaking negatively about someone at a gathering, and

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<sup>150</sup>See 3.3. for more discussion about the influence of and the difference between identity and culture

fearing the undesirable reactions that might result from using direct speech.<sup>151</sup> However, the major similarity between the Libyan and British informants with regard to the possibility of using both forms is that they attributed it to the situation and context, albeit they seem to differ with regard to this. For the English informants, these situations include obtaining medical information for directness, while saving face and avoiding criticism are their reasons for indirectness. For the Libyan informants, indirectness can also be seen as a polite way of making requests, avoiding embarrassment (see 3-X above) or even sending unpleasant messages politely (e.g. criticism) (see 1-V above). However, it can be seen as highly negative way of intervening in others' affairs and focusing on their shortcomings, without them being able to defend themselves (see 3-X above). Thus, the responses of my informants may reflect their ideological and cultural beliefs about themselves and others within their social communities. These answers should not be treated as personal opinions, as if they exist in a vacuum, but should rather be seen as indicative of linguistic ideologies about indirectness.

### **6.2.3. Examples of Indirectness.**

Question (7) asks my informants to provide an example of a real situation in which they used indirectness or someone used it towards them. I will present an overview of the differences between the two groups in their view of the concept and interpretation of indirectness which were reflected in the examples they mentioned. In general, the English informants gave examples in which indirectness is used politely (or neutrally) for requests, justifications, comments and compliments. However, there were a few negative examples where the informants used indirectness or it was used towards them impolitely, mainly for the purpose of sarcasm. Most of the examples mentioned by the Libyans were negative and portrayed

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<sup>151</sup> Some examples will be provided in Chapter 7 to illustrate this point.

their impression of this form of speech, including negative reproach,<sup>152</sup> negative idiomatic expressions, sarcasm, pretending not to understand polite indirect requests,<sup>153</sup> revenge, generalising meanings and so on. However, there were some examples where the informants mentioned using indirectness politely, such as avoiding embarrassment, getting information, giving advice and so on. It is striking that this question had a different impression on the informants who took part in the questionnaire. For example, while one of my English informants found it “a surprisingly direct request” as the question says ‘please give an example...’, two of the Arab informants (whose answers to the questionnaire were discarded because they were incomplete) commented that this question was ‘silly’, and one of them even added ‘I would say it in colloquial language as requested; this question is silly and involves some kind of curiosity which creates problems’. Such comments clearly illustrate the negative interpretation some of the Libyans hold towards indirect speech.

#### 6.2.4. Summary

Although the number of my informants was limited, I believe that their responses to the questionnaire provided several insights into the concept of politeness and impoliteness in both linguistic groups. From my discussion of the responses provided by the informants, both Arab and British, about their views of politeness and impoliteness, it seems that consideration for others’ feelings is the most important aspect of politeness in both societies. However, as I have shown, there seems to be greater agreement among the English informants about what

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<sup>152</sup>‘Reproach’ can be positive or negative, direct or indirect, and it is used to send a message to the hearer that they are not doing what is expected of them. Some Arabic examples, both polite and impolite, are provided in Chapter 7.

<sup>153</sup>Although failing to understand indirect requests can be seen as accidental, it is usually seen as intentional and highly offensive in Libyan society, as I will show in Chapter 7. To illustrate this claim, one of my informants gave an example of failing to understand her indirect request, considering it impolite behaviour, as I will show in Section 7.3.1., example 16.

constitutes politeness than among the Arabs who defined it in broader terms. Furthermore, the English appear to attach greater significance to apologies and expressions of gratitude as required forms of politeness, which might not be appreciated to the same extent by the Libyans, particularly in a familial context. Such a difference should not be seen as a matter of degree; rather, it arises from the different conception of what constitutes politeness in Libya and Britain. Similarly, despite the agreement between the two groups' view of impoliteness as a lack of consideration for others, the English informants' definitions in general, as in the case of defining politeness, were more direct and straightforward.

The Arab and British informants also agreed about the concept of indirectness as a form of speech that can be conveyed implicitly. However, the definitions provided by both groups illustrate that there are basic differences between the conception of what indirectness means and, consequently, its manifestations. The main difference between the two groups is that some of the Arab informants gave negative definitions for indirectness. For them, it is more about the function rather than a description, and they used some negative idioms that are usually used to describe impolite hidden messages. This negative interpretation is reflected in some of the Libyan informants' choices concerning their views of whether Libyans use indirectness when being polite or impolite, as more than the half of them considered indirectness to be impolite. While about half of my English informants considered that the British use more indirect forms, only four of them considered that they themselves use indirect forms, and 10 described themselves as using direct forms. Such contradictory views shed light on the importance of considering the ideological difference between how people feel they and others *should* speak and how they *do* speak.



### 6.3. Focus Group Analysis

I organised the focus group responses into 6 categories, determined according to the answers of my informants in the different focus group discussions. As I mentioned in section 5.5.2.3., I conducted three focus group discussions: two for Libyan Arab informants (one each for males and females, respectively) and one was for the English informants, both males and females together.

#### 6.3.1. Defining Directness and Indirectness:

The English focus group informants (see Appendix E for the English focus group, pp. 177-189) stated that directness is explicit, while the meaning of indirectness is implicit (see Appendix E, p. 177, lines: 9-17):

##### *- Defining directness and indirectness by the English informants*

9- K: So direct is speaking (0.5) directly to somebody (0.3) and indirect is (.)

10- M: Like making a comment

11- P: Not clear

12- K: So for example I might say to John (2) emm your shirt doesn't suit you (.) to his face

13- (1.3) or indirect (.) might be to say that

14- ((Noise, not clear))

15- K: Although it'd be like Jo:::hn =

[

16- M: Now sometimes

[

17- K: = worn a pink suit a pink shirt then

[

18- D: Yeah ((laughter))

[

19- P: Yeah ((laughter))

Thus, directness and indirectness, according to the above view, can be seen as a way of giving an opinion about somebody or something by some of the English informants.

However, directness and indirectness can also be judged according to the way of giving answers or information (see Appendix E, p. 77, lines: 20- 23), as follows:

- 20- M: Yeah but sometimes direct  
 21- and indirect is like I said are we meeting on Saturday and the person I said it to went oh  
 22- aaa o:h I d o:h (0.4) and gave me an indirect answer (.) so I assumed that it is still going  
 23- to be happening (0.6) had she's just given me a direct answer and said no

The Arab informants considered directness as a way of conveying messages through the words uttered. However, it was perceived more as something to do with criticism, that is to send impolite messages directly to the target (See Appendix C, pp. 73-74, lines: 3-8 and Appendix D, p. 131, lines: 3-6), as follows:

**- Defining directness by Libyan Arab female informants**

ف: (2) الكلام	المباشر:	يعني	ال	اا	زي	ما	نقولوا	الهدرزة	العادية
?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	jaʕnj	?al	aa	zaj	ma	nqwlw:	?alhadirza	?aʕa:di:a
the speech	the direct	the mean	the	aa	like	as	say wa	talking	the normal

3- F (2) Direct spee::ch means the aa like, we can say colloquial speech

ف: الكلام	العادي (.)	ما	يعني	اا	ما	تقصد	من	وراه (.)	غير
?alkala:m	?aʕa:dj	ma	jaʕnj	aa	ma	matuqsud	min	wara:h	rair
the speech	the normal	not	mean	aa	not	not mean you	from	it behind	not

4- F informal speech (.) I mean aa I just (.) mean

] (أصوات في الخلفية)	
[ ((voices in the background))	

ف: اللي اللي	قلته	بالزبط	يعني (.)	الكلام (1)	المعنى	في	الكلام
?illj ?illj	qultah	bizzabit <sup>f</sup>	jaʕnj	?alkala:m	?almaʕnà	fj	?alkala:m
that that	it said I	exactly	mean	the speech	the meaning	in	the speech

5- F exactly what I said, I mean (.) the speech (1) the meaning of speech



causing offence by the Arab interviewers (See Appendix C, p. 74, lines: 9-13; and Appendix D, p. 131-132, lines: 7-15) as follows:

**- Defining Indirectness by Libyan Arab female informants**

ف: المعنى	متاعه	عادي	كلام (.) بس	الكلام	غير	المباشر	نتوقع
?almaʕnà	mta:ʕah	ʕa:dj	bas kala:m	?alkala:m	ʕair	?almuba:ʕer	nitwaqqaʕ
the meaning	its	normal	speech	the speech	not	the direct	I expect
9- F   its meaning, it is normal speech (.) but indirect speech, I assume,							

ف: انه يكون	الكلام	اللي (1)	المعنى	متاعه	مخبيء	بين	السطور
?innah	?alkala:m	?illj	?almaʕnà	mta:ʕah	muxaba?	bajn	?alsutʕu:r
it that	the speech	that	the meaning	its	hidden	between	lines
10- F   It is the kind of speech whereby (1) its meaning is hidden behind words							

س: تقصد	بيه	شيء	اخر
tuqsʕud	bi:h	faj?	?a:ʕar
mean you	it with	thing	another
11- S   You use it to mean something else			

ف: أو	تقصد (.)	كلام	يعني	مش	هو	نفس	المعنى	اللي	انت
?aw	tuqsʕud	kala:m	jaʕnj	mif	hu:a	nafis	?almaʕnà	?illj	?inta
or	mean you	speech	mean	not	it	same	the meaning	that	you
12- F   Or you mean (.) another meaning other than the one you									

ف: قلته (.)	لازم	يعني	تبحث (.)	أو:::	ادور	على	المعنى	باش
qultah	la:zim	jaʕnj	tabhaθ	?aw	?iddwir	ʕalà	?almaʕnà	ba:ʕ
it said you	should it	mean	look for you	or	look for you	on	the meaning	to
13- F   said (.) you have to look for (.) o:::r find the meaning to								

**- Defining Indirectness by Libyan Arab male informants**

ز: مش كويس	والا درت حاجة مش	كويسة (.)	والا في وقت	تاني	بتجي	تلف	لفان
mif	ha:za dirt	miʕ	waqit fj	tanj	bitzj	tlif	Laffan
good not	or thing did	good	in or	another time	you come	turn	turning
7- Z   It could be you are not good or you did something bad (.) or sometimes you just go							
8-   around							

عليه	بتقوله	راه	الكلام	هذا	مش كويس	في	ناس	تقول	في	الكلام
ʕalaih	bitqu:lah	rah	?alkla:m	hada	miʕ	kwai:s	na:s	fj	taqu:l	?alkala:m
him on	say you will	is	the speech	this	not	good	say you	people in	the speech of	the speech of
9- Z	and say that what you said is not good and there are some people who say									

هذا مش كويس والا قلة ادب يعني بطريقة (0.3) bitari:qa jaʕnj ʔadab qillat walla kwai:s miʕ hada way in mean polite non or good not this	
10-Z	such bad things or that is impolite I mean in a way (0.3)

م: تجيبهاله ماتيبش توصله الدوة ان هو اللي قاله qa:lah ʔillj hu:a ʔinnah ʔaddu:a twasʕillah matibbi:ʕ tzi:bhalah it said that he that the speech him reach you not want you no him to it bring you	
11- M	In a way that does not make him feel that he was intended by the speech

اللي قال الكلام هذا والا ] walla hada ʔalkala:m qa:l ʔillj or this the speech said that	
12- M	or he was the person who said that or [

ز: بتوصلهاله بطريقة (.) بتلف لفان و توصلهاله بمعنى bimaʕna twasʕulha:lah wa laffa:n bitliff bitari:qa bitwasʕulha:lah meaning with him to it reach you and turning turn you will way with him to it reach you	
13- Z	[ You convey it in a way (.) you go around and make him understand the meaning

Some of the Arab participants, particularly females, even went further and described indirect speech using the idiom ‘making meanings’ (or literally ‘beating meaning ’ضرب معاني’) which means conveying hidden offensive messages to the hearer indirectly (Appendix C, pp. 74-75, lines: 14-17),<sup>154</sup> as follows:

ف: تفهمه ووو (.) و نتوقع الكلام الغير مباشر ʔalmuba:ʕer alyajr alkali:m netwaqqaʕ wa www tafahmah the direct the not the speech expect I and aaa it understand you	
14- F	to understand it and aaa (.) and I think indirect speech

<sup>154</sup>Examples are provided through analysing the Arab focus group discussions.

ف: يستخدم في الحاجات يعني زي ما نقولوا: (.) ضرب المعاني							
] justxdam fj in thethings mean like as we say beating meanings almʕɑ:nj dʕrb nqwlɔ: zajma jʕnj ʔilħa:ʒa:t							
used in the things mean like as we say beating meanings							
15-F:	is used for things like (.) ‘making meanings’ [						

ن: الليبيين (غير واضح) ضرب المعاني		
] ʔallibjji:n Libyans fdʕrb beating the meanings almʕɑ:nj		
Libyans beating the meanings		
16- N:	[ Libyan people ((not clear)) ‘making meanings’ [	

س: عندي ضرب المعاني الكلام غير المباشر					
] ʕindj have I making the meanings almʕɑ:nj alkali:m ʔajr not the direct almuba:ʃer					
have I making the meanings the speech not the direct					
17- S	[ I see indirect speech as ‘making meanings’				

Thus, although directness and indirectness seem to be defined similarly by both the Arab and English informants, they seem to be perceived to have different functions by both groups, as I show in the following section.

### 6.3.2. Using Directness and Indirectness:

Using direct or indirect forms of speech, according to my informants, depends on many factors, such as the situation, the relationship between interlocutors and so on. For example, directness is claimed by both the English and Arab groups to be used more among people who have a close relationship to each other (such as members of the same family, close friends and so on) (see Appendix C, pp. 80-81 lines: 54-58, Appendix E, pp. 180-181, lines: 101-113, and p. 185, lines: 222-243). Using directness is also seen as a matter of power: it is

used more by superiors towards inferiors than vice versa, such as when managers speak to their employees (see Appendix D, pp. 153-154, lines: 193-198),<sup>155</sup> parents to their children (see Appendix E, pp. 185-186, lines: 244-255; Appendix D, pp. 145-146, lines: 129-137),<sup>156</sup> and teachers to their students (see Appendix E, p. 182, lines: 145-147). However, for the English informants, directness is mostly used with and accepted from children, but avoided with adults (see Appendix E, p. 184, lines: 195-221). Directness is seen as required in some situations: for the male Libyan informants, for example, it is required to show the magnitude of a mistake that someone has made (a son, for example), which might lose its effect if it were said indirectly (see Appendix D, pp. 140-141, lines: 86-96). In this example, according to my informant, the father needs to speak directly to his son to show him the enormity of his fault, because if he spoke indirectly, his son might feel that his mistake was less serious than it actually was. Thus, according to the informant, indirectness in such a case is less effective than directness.

For the English participants, directness is required in giving directions (e.g. when coaching somebody) (see Appendix E, p. 180, lines: 83-85), issuing exact answers to avoid confusion which might be caused when speaking indirectly (see Appendix E, p. 177, lines: 20-29) or providing important information (e.g. medical or urgent information) (see Appendix E, p. 189, lines: 336-338). However, the English informants pointed out that using

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<sup>155</sup>However, some of the English participants pointed out that they can speak directly to their head teacher and give direct opinions about him (commenting on his shirt, for example) to his face, due to their close friendship. That shows that solidarity can be more important than power in relationships among friends (see Grainger 2004 on the importance of solidarity).

<sup>156</sup>Both groups, Arab and English, mentioned that the younger generation (e.g. sons and daughters) are more direct to their parents than the older generation were, like themselves. However, requests, for example, are usually made directly in Libyan Arabic either by parents or children. However, children usually use certain kinds of intonation to soften its impact, as we will see in Chapter 7.

directness, particularly in making requests, can upset or even hurt others (see below) so they tend to use indirect forms for requests (see Appendix E, p. 183, lines: 174-186). This may be attributed to the stereotypical cultural norms in Britain where “requests ... are perceived as impositions to a greater extent and they are preferably expressed more elaborately and indirectly” (Sifianou, 1992: 42):

174- Z: So (.) when you want to requ to:: request something you sometimes can't say it  
175 directly just try to =

[  
176-P: Yeah

[  
177- J: Yeah

[  
178- D: Yeah

[  
179- Z: find a way

[  
180- D: You don't want to hurt the person

[  
181- J: I think (.) there is a worry that if you're direct with

182- somebody that you might (.)

183- R: Upset them

[  
184- J: Upset them yeah hurt them

185- D: you'd not actually get the best from people always as well you can actually get for  
186- more and and (0.5) it sort of shows more (not clear)

Indirectness is also preferred by the English participants when criticizing somebody or being criticised, and is seen as a more polite approach than direct criticism. However, direct criticism can be accepted as long as it is analytical and factual (see Appendix G, p. 188, lines: 307-324), not just a personal opinion.

Direct requests, particularly if conceived of as being very serious (e.g. borrowing a car or requesting money) were also seen as impolite by the Libyan focus group informants,



who mentioned that using this type of speech is seen as an indication of an impolite person who was described as ‘a strong-faced person وجهه صحيح<sup>157</sup>’, which means someone who does not care about the imposition which might be caused due to his/her direct requests (see Appendix D, pp. 148-149, lines: 156-163).

However, directness was seen to be preferable for requests in certain situations (e.g. less serious things, such as turning on a heater) by the Arab informants (see Appendix C, pp. 111-114., Lines: 264-287, and Appendix D, pp. 159-160, lines: 239-246), because they prefer to get straight to the point. However, there was a difference between the male and female Libyan participants with regard to preferring direct or indirect forms in expressing or receiving criticism, which was also different from that of the English informants. Although indirect forms were preferred by both groups in criticising others, the reasons behind this preference differ in some respects: for both Arab groups, male and female, indirectness can often mitigate the meaning. For example, instead of criticising somebody for not being generous directly, as one male Libyan informant suggested, people can use generalisation by talking to others, in the presence of such a person, about the dreadfulness of such a character and how miserly people are not liked nor accepted by others in society (see Appendix D, pp. 165-166, Lines: 280-293). However, it is striking that the informant who mentioned this example used the phrase ‘throw words يعزق الكلام’ which is usually used to convey offensive messages indirectly:

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<sup>157</sup>The Libyan expression used when criticising somebody, directly or indirectly, and the offended person, for some reason, cannot retaliate.

<p>س: = فيك عيب معين (.) ما نجيش نقول مثلا (.) لا قدر الله  ʔallah laqaddar maθalan nqu:l manzi:f muʕajen ʕajb fi:k  God forbid for example say I not come I no specific fault you in</p>	
280- S	[ If you suffer from a certain shortcoming (.) I can't just say for example (.) God
281-	forbid

<p>مثلا (.) اا فتحي هذا مثلا (.) مثلا يعني (.) والا مهند  muhannad walla jaʕnj maθalan maθalan haða fathj aaa maθalan  Muhannad or mean for example for example this Fathi aaa for example</p>	
282- S	For example (.) aaa (Fathi) for example (.) for example I mean (.) or (Muhannad)

<p>مثلا (.) رجل اا عنده مشاكل والا رجل أخلاقه مش كويسة  kwajsa mif ʔaxla:qah razul walla mafa:kil ʕindah aa razul maθalan  good not his morals man or problems has he aa man for example</p>	
283- S	For example (.) was a man aa who suffers from shortcomings or he was ill-bred

<p>والا رجل بخل والا رجل (.) نقي نحن كجماعة هكي نعزقوا  naʕizqu: hikkj kazama:ʕa nahna nabqà razul walla baʕi:l razul walla  throw we like that group as we stay we man or stingy man or</p>	
284- S	or he was stingy or he was (.) we as a group would just throw words

<p>فيها والله فلان هذا والله البخل مش كويس والله مش عارف  ʕa:rif mif wallahi kwajs mif ʔalbuxl wallahi haða fula:n wallahi fi:ha  know I not God by good not the stinginess God by this man God by it in</p>	
285- S	towards him, we would say for example, this man is, or by God [really] stinginess is
286-	not good and things like that

<p>ايش والله فلان يعني (.) فلان في الزمن اللي كذا كذا كان فيه  fi:h ka:n kaða kaða ʔillj ʔazzaman fj fula:n jaʕnj fula:n wallahi ʔajf  it in was like that like that that age in man mean man God by what</p>	
287- S	by God = [really] that man I mean (.) we would say for example, in the past there

<p>واحد بخل كان مش عارف ايش والا هني (.) والا كانت مشاكله واجدات  wazda:t mafa:klah ka:nit walla hnj walla ʔajf ʕa:rif mif ka:n baʕi:l wa:hid  many his problems were or here or what know I not was stingy one</p>	
288- S	was a man who was stingy and things like that (.) or he was suffering from lots of
289-	problems

<p>والا الناس كانت تكرهه لانه بخل  baʕi:l liʔannah takerhah ka:nit ʔanna:s walla  stingy him because him hate they were the people or</p>	
290- S	or people hated him because he was stingy
[	

ن: ما تجيش      تقوله      انت      بخيل      و      معاش      اضله      بخيل ma:tʒi:ʃ      tqu:lah      ʔinta      bayi:l      wa      maʕa:ʃ      ʔadʕallah      bayi:l not come it no      him to say you      you      stingy      and      not      stay you      stingy							
291- N	[ It is very difficult to just say 'you are stingy and don't be like that'						

((ضحك))							
((Laughter))							

س: والا      مشاكله      واجدات      والله      الناس      دائما      ما ما      ماتحبش walla      mafa:klah      wa:ʒda:t      wallahi      ʔanna:s      da:ʔiman      ma ma      mathibbiʃ or      his problems      many      God by      the people      always      no no no      not like they no							
292- S	Or he had many problems and people usually don't like to {socialise with}						

تخالط      الناس      اللي      مشاكلهم      واجدات tuxa:litʕ      ʔanna:s      ʔillj      mafa:kiɬhum      wa:ʒda:t do relations      the people      who      their problems      many					293- S		
those who have many problems							

Thus, in this example, instead of criticising the target person for not being generous directly, the informant used an indirect strategy, which was generalising the meaning to convey his message without confronting or embarrassing the target. However, although this informant claimed that indirect criticism is used to avoid embarrassing others (this may be true because the target was not accused directly of miserliness), using the phrase 'throw words' gives the impression that these words may have a negative impact on the target. For example, if a physical thing is thrown (e.g. a stone), a person may be hurt physically. By the same token, if words are 'thrown' towards somebody, they may be hurt emotionally. Furthermore, direct criticism was evaluated negatively by the male Libyans, who described it as 'punching in someone's teeth يعطيهاله في السنون' = [being blunt] (see Appendix D, p. 143, lines: 111-114) and as an indication of an impolite person.

For the female Libyan informants, indirectness can be used to mitigate the meaning of criticism (see Appendix C, p. 77, line: 34), but also because of a fear of confrontation (see Appendix C, pp. 77-78, lines: 35-37),<sup>158</sup> fear of reaction (see Appendix C, p. 88, lines: 109-111), or fear of revenge, which might be instant or delayed (see Appendix C, p. 88, lines: 115-116).<sup>159</sup> In this case, the offended person uses the same indirect strategy that is used by the offender and usually talks about the same subject for retaliation. To illustrate this point, consider the following example (see Appendix C, pp. 90-91, lines: 126-136), which was mentioned by one of my female Libyan informants:

س: أنا	عندي	واحدة	هكي	يعني	في	موقف	سابق	جرحتني	يقعّمزوا
ʔana	ʕindj	wahda	hikkj	jaʕnj	fj	mawqif	sabiq	zurhitnj	jqaʕmzu:
I	I have	one	like	mean	in	event	previous	they me hurt she	sitting they
126- S	I used to have {female} friends who hurt me in a previous situation while sitting in								
127-	a group								

س: مع	بعض	مجموعة (.)	و	قالو	كلام	أنا	حسيت	يقصدوا	بيه	أنا
maʕa	baʕdʕ	mazmu:ʕa	wa	qa:lu:	kala:m	ʔana	hassait	juquʕdw	bi:h	ʔana
with	together	group	and	said they	speech	I	I felt	mean they	it of	I
128- S	together and they said something I felt I was meant by it									

س: (0.6)	طبعاً	أنا	ممکن	لعدة	أسباب	أول	حاجة	ما نبيش	مشكلة
ʔana	tʕabʕan	ʔana	mumkin	liʕiddat	ʔasb:ab	ʔwal	h:aʒa	manibbi:ʕ	muʕkla
I	of course	I	may	many for	reasons	first	thing	not want no	problem
129- S	(0.6) of course maybe for many reasons, first of all I didn't want to create a								
130-	problem,								

س:	ما نبيش	نواجه (0.6)	يعني	درت	روحي	ما سماعتاش	و	خلاص (0.5)
manibbi:ʕ	nwazah	jaʕnj	dirt	ru:hi:	masmaʕtaʕ	wa	ʕalasʕ	ʔana
not want no	face I	mean	did	myself	I no	not it heard	that is it	I
131- S	I didn't want to face them (0.6) I mean I pretended I didn't hear it (0.5)							

<sup>158</sup>It should be noted that 'fear of confrontation' may mean 'to avoid an argument' rather than 'avoid embarrassing others' which is the expected meaning of this phrase. In this case, the offence is intended, and indirectness is simply used to avoid the risk of retaliation.

<sup>159</sup>By 'delayed revenge' here, I mean that the offended person cannot retaliate immediately (e.g. cannot find the words), so they postpone their retaliation for another 'suitable' context when they can take revenge on the offender.

س:	فيه	موقف	تاني	يعني	صارلي	موقف	و	حسيت	ان	انا
	fi:h	mawquf	tanj	jaʕnj	sʕarlj	mawquf	wa	hassait	ʔinna	ʔana
	it in	event	another	mean	me to happened	event	and	I felt	that	I
132- S	there was another situation, I mean, happened to me and I felt									

	]
	ردديتها      نفس      الشيء      يعني
	raddjtjha    nafs         alʃaj          jaʃnj
	it replied you same    the thing   mean

134- Z

[ You got even with them, didn't you?

	]
	((ضحك))
[	
((laughter))	

However, one of the main reasons mentioned by my female informants for using indirectness to cause offence was that it allows deniability. For them, not only does it allow the offender to avoid the risk of retaliation, but it also gives them greater freedom to use highly offensive words to attack the target. Consider the following example (see Appendix C, pp. 103-105, lines: 215-226):

ج: لما نجي نلقاها من بعيد تعرفي هديك دراه كبد	
kabid drah hadika taʃurfj baʃi:d min nlaqaɦilha nɜz lamma	
liver disgusting that one know you far from her use meanings I come I when	
215- H	So when I use meanings I say you know, that person {female} is unbearable ((not clear))

ج: لا مش عليك انت نقصدوا راه (.) كنا نتكلموا على واحدة تانيه هي	
hai tania waɦda ʃala nitkalmu: kunna rah nuqusʔdu: ʔinti ʃalaik miʃ la	
ok another one about speak we were anyway mean we you you about not no	
216- H	no, it is not about you, we don't mean you (.) we were talking about someone else

	ف: اممم Emmm
217- F	Emmm

ج: مش عليك انت	
]	
ʔinti ʃalaik miʃ	
you you about not	
218- H	It wasn't about you
	[

ز: ايه ايه	
]	
ʔaih ʔaih	
yes yes	
219- Z	Yes yes
	[

ج: خبيرك انت مش واثقة فينا والا ما عنكش ثقة في نفسك	
nafsik fj ɦiqa maʃindikif walla fi:na waɦqa miʃ ʔinti ɦairik	
yourself in confidence not you have no or us of confident not you you why	
220- H	what's wrong with you, don't you trust us or are you unconfident

	ف: ((ضحك))
	]
221- F	((Laughter))
	[

ز: صح انت ما	
]	
ma ʔinti sʔah	
not you right	
222- Z	Yes you didn't ...
	[

	<p>ح: والا انت كل شي تسمعويه تحسابيه عليك انت (.)</p> <p>?inti ?inti kul faj tasimfi:h tahsabl:i:h ?inti</p> <p>you or every thing you hear you think you about you</p>
223- H	<p>[</p> <p>Or anything you hear you think it is about you</p>
	<p>س: ايه ايه</p> <p>]</p> <p>?aih ?aih</p> <p>yes yes</p>
224- S	<p>Yes yes</p> <p>[</p>
	<p>ز: يعني مش ااا</p> <p>]</p> <p>mif jaʕnj</p> <p>not mean</p>
225- Z	<p>[</p> <p>not it means aaa ...</p> <p>[</p>
	<p>ح: نقدر نرجع فهمتي</p> <p>]</p> <p>fahamtj narʒaʕ niqder</p> <p>understood you got back I can I</p>
226- H	<p>[</p> <p>I can deny it, understand?</p>

Another female Arab informant also mentioned that it is difficult to accuse another of causing offence when it is indirect, because they would simply deny it, and she used the expression ‘whoever is ill their elbows will hurt them <sup>160</sup> صاحب العلة ينخصوه مرافقه’ to describe the reaction of the offender if confronted. Thus, in such cases, the offended person cannot retaliate or confront, because they would be offended (see the example above) so the claim that indirectness is more polite, because it opens up options for the hearer (Leech, 1983),

<sup>160</sup>This expression is usually used by the offender as a ‘shell’ to deny the offensive action if they are confronted, and to show that the offended person would not feel bad about the offence, if they do not suffer from the shortcomings of which the offender is accusing them.

appears to be invalid, as far as such cases are concerned, because the options here are extremely restricted.<sup>161</sup> For this reason, the female Libyan informants prefer to be criticised directly in order to have the opportunity to defend themselves. One of the informants even went further, stating the Libyan saying that ‘whoever likes you will criticise you directly to your face not behind your back *واللي بيبيك يقو هالك في وجهك مش من وراك*’ to show that direct criticism, in general, is better. However, because of the vague nature of indirectness, and due to the notion of generalising meaning, which seems to be conventionalised among the Libyan informants, indirectness is sometimes misunderstood as being offensive when it is not intended to cause offence. For example, one of the female Libyan informants (see Appendix C, pp. 94-95, lines: 156-161) pointed out that she sometimes says something, but then regrets saying it, because it might be misunderstood. For example, the speaker might talk about the importance of education in the presence of a non-educated person who might regard this speech as about themselves, when it is not, and feel upset because of it. She pointed out that:

		أ: فيه	اللي	يقولك	حاجة	غير	مباشرة	مثلا (0.6)	و	بعدين
		fi:h	?illj	jaqu:lik	ħaza	yair	muba:ʃira	maθalan	wa	baʃdai:n
		it in	who	you to say he	something	not	direct	for example	and	later
156- A	Sometime someone says something indirectly for example (0.6) but then									
		أ: يندم	عليها	أنا	صايرتلي	أنا (0.5)	شخصيا (0.5)	والله	ما =	
		jandam	ʃalajha	?ana	sʻajritlj	?anan	ʃaxsʻjan	wallahi	ma	
		regret he	it on	I	me to happened it	I	personally	God by	not	
157- A	regrets saying it this happened to me (0.5) personally (0.5) and I really didn't=									

<sup>161</sup> More examples and discussion are provided in the following chapter.



<p>ز: تنفهم غلط          ]          tanifhim yalat<sup>6</sup>          understood it wrong</p>	
158- Z	<p>[ it is misunderstood          ]</p>
<p>أ: ما عندي أي نية سيئة بيها          ]          bi:ha sajʔa ni:a ʔaj ʕindi: ma          it of bad intention any I have not</p>	
159- A	<p>[ I didn't have any bad intention          ]</p>
<p>ف: لأن عندنا حني فكرة الكلام غير المباشر          almuba:ʃer yair alkala:m fikrat ħnai ʕindna liʔanna          the direct not the speech notion we we have because</p>	
160- F	<p>[ Because we have the notion of indirect speech</p>
<p>أ: آيه          ʔaih          yes</p>	
161- A	<p>Yes</p>

As generalising meanings is conventionalised in Libyan Arabic as a way of conveying hidden messages, mainly impolite ones, incidents such as that described in the above example might cause offence, because they are misunderstood.

### 6.3.3. Direct or Indirect

The English informants seemed to be more certain about what constitutes directness and indirectness, while there was confusion among some of the Arab participants, both males and females, regarding the difference between indirect speech and using polite expressions to soften the impact of directness. For example, one female Libyan informant (see, Appendix C,

pp. 80-82, lines: 54-68) mentioned that she usually uses and accepts direct forms when making requests to members of her family, but not strangers. She pointed out that:

س:	لو	جيتي	اخي	و	قالتلي	جيبيلي	امية	مثلا
	law	zitnj	?uxtj	wa	qalitlj	ʒjbzlj	immaja	maθalan
	if	me came	my sister	and	me to said she	me to bring	water	for example
54-S	If my sister said to me bring me water for example							

س:	حتى	لو	قالتها لي	بصيغة	الامر	ما نزعش	منها
	hatta	law	qalithalj	bis'iyat	?al?amr	manizzilʃ	minha
	even	if	me to it said she	form with	the order	not upset I no	her of
55-S	even if she uses an order form I will not get upset with her						

س:	لأنها	اخي =
	li?anha	?uxtj
	she because	my sister
56-S	because she is my sister	

ف:	ايه . عادي
	?aih
	normal
57-F	[ Yes, that is OK.

س:	هده	ديمة	أنا	و	اياها	مع	بعضنا	في	الحوش (.)	لو
	hadih	di:ma	?ana	wa	?iha	maʕa	bʕd'na	fj	alhu:ʃ	law
	this	always	I	and	her with	with	together	in	home the	if
58-S	This is me and her with each other always at home (.) but if, for example,									

س:	مثلا	حد	تاني	ما نعرفاش	أو	مثلا	يعني	مش يعني	مم=
	maθalan	had	tanj	manaʕrafaf	?aw	maθalan	jaʕnj	mif	mm
	for example	someone	else	I no	or	for example	mean	not mean	mm
59-S	it was someone who I don't know very well or for example I mean not, I mean errr=								

<p>ح: مش مقرب زي اختي          ]          miʃ muqarrab zai ʔuxʔtj          not close like my sister</p>	
60- H	[ Not close like my sister ]

<p>س: = صلة القرابة بيناتنا مش قوية (.) يستحسن إنها تكون بأدب          sʕilat alaraba bainatna qawi:a miʃ justahsan ʔinnha tku:n biʔadab          relation closeness us between not strong it better it be politeness with</p>	
61- S	[ = We are not very close, it should be said politely ]

<p>س: مثلا الله يرحم والديك لو سمحتي من فضلك والا          maʔalan Allah yarham wal dai:k law samahtj min fadʕlik walla          for example God bless your parents if you allow you of your favour or</p>	
62-S 63	for example: may God bless your parents, if you allow = [please (formal)] do a favour = [please (formal)] or

<p>س: معليشي سامحيني          ]          maʕlaiʃj samħjnj          me excuse me forgive</p>	
64- S	[ excuse me (informal), forgive me = [please (informal)] ]

<p>ز: بعدها؟ (1.3)          baʕdha          it after</p>	
65-Z	[ And then? (1.2) ]

<p>س: بعدها أكيدة أنا          ]          baʕdha ʔaki:da ʔana          it after sure I</p>	
66- S	[ And then I would say ]

		] ز: جيبلي اميه 3jzjzjz immaja me to bring water	
67- Z	[	Bring me water	

		س: ايه بعدين ?aih baʕdain yes later	
68- S	[	Yes later	

What the participant seems to be suggesting is that she does not use polite formulaic expressions when with her family due to their closeness to each other. However, her claim about using such formulaic expressions, especially formal ones, was challenged by other informants, even with strangers, and seen as ‘unnecessary’ (see Appendix C, pp. 106-108, lines: 236-241). It is striking that, when this informant was challenged about the unpopularity of using polite expressions, she insisted on using informal expressions (e.g. excuse me, my sister) rather than formal ones (e.g. please)<sup>162</sup> which might indicate the limitations associated with using formal polite expressions even with strangers, as follows:

		] ا: يا ودي ما عندناش من فضلك والله الا غير زيادة نحس فيها انا ?ana fi:ha nhiss zjada yair ?illa wallahi fadʕlik min maʕindna:ʃ jawiddj I it in feel I addition just but God by favour from not we have no love									
236- A	[	But love we don't use please {formal} by God [really] I think it is unnecessary									

<sup>162</sup>It should be noted that some apology formulae (e.g. forgive me) can sometimes be used to express pleas or even gratitude in Libya Arabic. When used as gratitude, it is sometimes followed by ‘I’m troubling you even for small favours to show that these favours are truly appreciated. متاعبك’

<p>س: عندنا والله الا نقولوا معليشي يا اخوتي =          ]          ʔuxajtj ja maʕlaiʃj nqu:lu: ʔilla wallahi ʕindna          my sister oh excuse me say we but God by we have</p>	
237- S	<p>[          We use it by God = [really] we say excuse me {informal} my little sister          ]</p>

<p>أ: والله ما فيه          ]          fi:h ma wallahi          it in not God by</p>	
238- A	<p>[          By God = [really] it is not used          ]</p>

<p>س: = لو سمحتي (غير واضح)          ]          samahtj law          allowed you if</p>	
239- S	<p>[          = Please {formal}          ]</p>

<p>أ: باهي معليشي باهي معليشي          ]          maʕlaiʃj bahj maʕlaiʃj bahj          excuse me ok excuse me ok</p>	
240- A	<p>[          Excuse me {informal} is fine excuse me is fine          ]</p>

<p>ن: بالله عليك هذه نقولوا فيها بالله عليك          ]          ʕalaik billahi fi:ha nqu:lw hadih ʕalaik billahi          you on God with it in we say this you on God with</p>	
241- N	<p>[          'For God's sake' we usually use it 'for God's sake'          ]</p>

Another example was the confusion between indirectness and what we can call ‘openers’, or ‘pre-requests’,<sup>163</sup> which are the small interactions that precede requests. That is, people in general, as Mills (2003) argues, are usually motivated by short-term goals “that they wish to achieve in the here and now; but they also have longer term goals” (Mills, 2003: 40). In order to achieve such goals in making requests, for example, particularly if they are serious, people tend to open their conversations with general questions about the person’s health, family and so on (see Appendix D, pp 162-163, line: 263-270) which save both the interlocutors’ faces and mitigate the imposition which might be provoked when asking for a favour directly. Thus, in order to avoid being accused of being ‘a strong-faced person’, Arab people may use such openers before making the request which is direct. Consider the following example:

<p>ف: تجي انت توقف عليه تقوله نبي جواز سفر (.)  safar zawa:z nibbj tqu:lah ʕalaih tu:qif ʔinta tʒj  passport want I him to say you him at stand you you come you</p>	
263- F	[ If you need a passport {for example}, would you request it directly (.)

<p>ر: تقوله لو سمحت  ] samahat law tqu:lah  allow you if him to say you</p>	
264- R	You would say please [

<sup>163</sup>Levinson (1983) suggests that some speech acts, such as requests, are unavoidable, as they are frequent in a variety of everyday conversations. According to Levinson, in order to solve this problem, speakers can use preface speech acts called ‘pre-sequences’, by which he means “a certain kind of turn and a certain kind of sequence containing that type of turn” (1983: 345). If we take soliciting requests as an example, Levinson (1983:357) suggests that speakers tend to use ‘pre-requests’ to avoid rejection because “it allows the producer to check out whether a request is likely to succeed, and if not to avoid one in order to avoid its subsequent dispreferred response”.

<p>س: بتقولها لو سمحت هده bitqu:lha law samahat hadj it say you will if allow you this</p>	
265- S	[ You would say 'please'

<p>ف: شن حالك يا حاج شن اخبارك ان شاء الله الامور تمام ] tama:m ?al?umu:r ?allah ja:? ?in ?axba:rik jin ha:ʒ ja ha:lik jin perfect the matters God willing if your news what Hajj oh your state what</p>	
266- F	[ You would say, how are you how is it going, I hope everything is fine ]

<p>ر: هذا هذا أسلوب اخر هذا الادبيات ] ?al?adabja:t haða ?a:ʒer ?uslu:b haða haða the politeness this another method this this</p>	
267- R	[ This is another technique, this is politeness ]

<p>س: هذا الادبيات للمباشر ] lilmuba:fer ?al?adabja:t haða the direct to the politeness this</p>	
268- S	[ This is a polite direct speech ]

<p>ف: لكن ماتجيشي انت مباشر ] muba:fer ?inta matzi:fj lakin direct you not come you no but</p>	
269- F	[ But you can't say it directly ]

<p>ر: لكن الطلب مباشر ] muba:fer ?altʿalab lakin direct the request but</p>	
270- R	[ But the request itself is direct ]

In this example, the informant F insisted on the importance of using the strategy of ‘pre-requests’ before making the request, regarding such a way as ‘indirect’. However, the claim that such conversations are indirect was challenged by the other participants who insisted that the request itself is direct, so it cannot be counted as indirect (see the example above). According to the informants’ discussion, the distinction between being rude (or a ‘strong-faced person’) or polite seems not to be due to the use of directness in requests, because they are direct in both cases. The distinction is due to whether openers are used or not, with serious requests. Another example mentioned by one of the male Arab informants was when the hearer prepares for direct criticism by softening it, by mentioning the good manners of the hearer before criticising him/her directly. Such a preparation for criticism can also be labelled as ‘pre-criticism’ rather than ‘indirect’. For example, one male Arab informant pointed out that, in order to criticise someone (e.g. a friend), you need to prepare him for the criticism by reminding him of the close relationship you share, and then ‘punch him in his face أعطيهاله في وجهه’ which means criticising him directly. Thus, the criticism itself is direct rather than indirect, but the preparation for it can soften its impact, as in the following example (see Appendix D, p. 157, lines: 221-224):

	اديره	ال	ال	الصحية	اللي	بينك	و	بينه
	?iddi:rah	?al	?al	?als <sup>h</sup> uhba	?illj	bainak	wa	bainah
	it do you	the	the	the friendship	that	you between	and	him between
221- N	you would start by reminding him of your close relationship and your friendship							
	و	المحبة	و	مش	عارف	شني	و	بعدين
	و	الماhabba	wa	mi:f	ʃa:rif	ʃinj	wa	baʃdain
	and	the relationship	and	not	know	what	and	then
								taʃt <sup>h</sup> i:halah
								fj
								wazhah
								his face
222- N	whatever and then you punch him in his face = [punch meaning straight to his face]							



		] ز : ((ضحك)) ايه صح ايه تعطيه مقدمات صح والله صح							
		] sʰah wallahi sʰah muqaddima:t taʃtʰi:h ʔajh sʰah ʔajh							
		right by God right preliminaries him give you yes right yes							
223- Z	[	((laughter)) yes right yes you have to prepare him for that right by God =							
224-		[absolutely] right							

According to the above discussion, then, there seem to be many strategies that are used to mitigate the impact of direct speech (e.g. ‘pre-requests’ and ‘pre-criticism’) in Arabic. However, the evaluations of indirectness might differ from one situation to another, as I show in the following section.

#### 6.3.4. Evaluations of Indirectness

One reason given by the English informants for using indirect speech is to avoid being impolite by speaking directly, as directness can sometimes be interpreted as rude (see Appendix E, p. 188, lines: 131-136):

- 131- M: But then sometimes I have to be indirect so that (.) I’m being polite (0.5) cause  
 132- sometimes it comes to rude as been ((not clear)) or shirty or whatever when it isn’t  
 133- really intended so after thinking about it sometimes and not (.) going straight for the  
 134- K: Emmm  
 135- M: This is what I want (.) and this is what I’m going to ask John ask directly and  
 136- everybody is like how rude ((laughter)) so to think about it ((laughter))

Directness, then, can sometimes be misunderstood as being rude when this is not the intention. For example, one of my English participants mentioned that she regrets being so direct sometimes to others, because it might be interpreted negatively, while this is not her intention. She pointed out (see Appendix E, p. 189, lines: 358-365):

- 358- M: And also there’re some things when you say something very directly (0.7) you (1)  
 359- can then relieve that moment and think I wish should said it this way I wish should said  
 360- it that way if it is memorable big (.) I’ve only had this opportunity to tell you once that

361- I'm pregn... if only I have this opportunity to tell you once and once I've said those that  
 362- words out (.) and then once they're out you think o:h wish could redo that and have a bit  
 363- more ((not clear))with it or redo that and be more subtle with it or (.) you know so (.)  
 364- being direct sometimes can leave you thinking wish I've made more (not clear) of that  
 365- ((laughter))

However, according to one English participant, avoiding direct forms is not only to avoid being impolite, but also to avoid being *seen* as impolite by others. He pointed out (see Appendix E, p. 183, lines: 131-136):

189- P: It's it's not just it's not just for that but  
 190- also (.) how (.) you perceive they will think about you (1.5) as well you know if you ask  
 191directly it's like oh oh how o::h Gosh yeah (.)  
 192- K: Have I upset them  
 193- P: [ Have I upset them  
 194- K: Yeah

Indirectness (as I have already mentioned) was seen by the English participants as a way of mitigating criticism, to avoid offending the hearer directly, as well as to avoid confrontation. However, it is sometimes seen as confusing (see Appendix E, p. 177, lines: 20-29; and p. 183, lines: 171-173), so directness is preferred in such cases. For the Libyan participants, indirectness can also be positive as well as negative. As in the case with the English participants, it is preferred when making requests (albeit serious ones) and to avoid confrontation and arguments with the hearer when criticising him/her. However, judging indirectness as negative by the Arabs seems to be different in some respects, not only between the Libyans and English, but also between the male and female Arab participants themselves, who mentioned several different reasons for using this type of speech. Indirectness was judged negatively by the male Arabs because, as I mentioned above, it does not have the same strength of direct speech in judging serious mistakes and because it might

not be understood by the hearer, so the goal of indirect speech is not achieved (see Appendix D, pp. 137-138', lines: 65-69), as follows:

	<p>ف: هو هو أنا وجهة نظري عيب ال الكلام غير المباشر (.)          ?almuba:fer rair ?alkala:m ?al ?aib nad'arj wizhat ?ana hu:a hu:a          the direct not the speech the shortcoming my view point I it it</p>
65- F	<p>[          It is, it is, from my point of view, the problem with indirect speech (.)</p>
66- F	<p>انه مرات          ?innah marrat          it that sometimes          it sometimes</p>
67- N	<p>ن: ماتوصلش (.) ماتوصلش الفكرة          ]          ?alfikra matwas'ili? matwas'ili          the idea not reach you no not reach you no          It doesn't convey (.) it doesn't convey the idea          [</p>
68- F	<p>ف: ماتوصلش الفكرة (.) و بعدين يفقد قوة الحاجة نفسها          ]          nafisha ?alhaza qu:at jaffqid ba?dain wa ?alfikra matwas'ili?          itself the thing power lose it then and the idea not reach you no          it doesn't convey the idea (.) and the meaning itself might lose its influence          [</p>
69- R	<p>ر: الحاجة صح اه (.)          ?ah s'ah ?alhaza          yes right the thing          The meaning right yes (.)</p>

Thus, for the male Arab informants, indirect speech is not preferred in certain situations (such as the example above), because it might be misunderstood by the hearer. However, the Arab females judged indirectness itself as a negative way to convey an offensive message to hurt others deliberately. For example, one of the Arab female

participants pointed out that indirectness is mainly used to criticise others in Libyan society (see Appendix C, p. 83; lines: 73-77). Not only did other participants not challenge her claim, but they also agreed with her, as follows:

م:	بالنسبة	لينا	نحن	في	مجتمعنا	الليبي	عندنا
	binnisba	li:na	nahna	fj	muztamaʕna	ʔalli:bj	ʕindna
	regard with	us to	we	in	our society	the Libyan	have we
73- M	For us as Libyans						

م:	الكلام	المباشر	في	الاجتماعات	العادية	في	الكلام	العادي (0.5)
	alkala:m	almuba:ʕer	fj	alʔiztimaʕa:t	alʕadi:a	fj	alkala:m	alʕa:dj
	the speech	the direct	in	the gatherings	the normal	in	the speech	the normal
74- M	we use direct speech in informal gatherings in informal speech (0.5)							

م:	الغير	مباشر	لما	نبي	ننتقد
	ʔalyair	muba:ʕer	lamma	nibbj	nuntaqid
	the not	direct	when	want we	criticize we
75- M	indirect speech is used when I want to criticize {someone}				

	أ: أيوه
	ʔaiwah
	Yes
76- A	[ Yes ]

	ن: اممم صح
	Saħ emm
	Right emm
77- N	[ emm right ]

According to the female Arab informants, thus, indirectness is particularly used for criticism in Libyan Arabic. However, when the male participants were asked whether indirectness is used more by males or females, one of the participants pointed out that directness is mostly

used by men and linked that to strength and power, which is usually associated with masculinity, while women usually avoid *aggressive* situations which might result in direct speech; thus, for them, women are more indirect (see Appendix D, pp. 168-170, lines: 307-323):

أ: هل الكلام الغير مباشر منتشر أكثر بين الرجال (2)	hal	?alkala:m	?alɣair	muba:fer	muntafer	?aktar	bajn	?arriɣa:l
	do	the speech	the not	direct	widespread	more	between	the men
307- A	Is indirect speech more common among men (2)							

أم بين النساء	?am	bajn	?annisa:ʔ
or between the women			
308- A	or women		

ف: النساء (0.7)	?annisa:ʔ	the women
309- F	among women (0.7)	

م: المباشر المباشر والا غير المباشر	?almuba:fer	?almuba:fer	walla	ɣair	?almuba:fer
	the direct	he direct	or t	not	the direct
310- M	Direct, direct or indirect?				

أ: ال	?al	?alkala:m	?alɣair	muba:fer
	the	the speech	the not	direct
311- A	Indirect speech			

ر: بين النساء	bajn	?annisa:ʔ
	between	the women
312- R	Among women	

<p>م: بين النساء bajn ?annisa: between the women</p>	
313- M	[ Among women

((غير واضح))	
((Not clear))	

<p>ف: لانه شنو قلنا علاش (1) واحدة من الاسباب (.) ان الرجل li?annah jinw qulna ?ala:f wahida min ?al?asba:b ?inna ?arrazil because what said we why one of the reasons that the man</p>	
314- F	Do you know why? (1) one of the reasons is that (.) men

<p>في مواقف معينة عنده نوع من القوة (0.5) يمكن يحس روحه قوي (.) mawaqif fj mu?ajana ?indah nu:f min ?alqu:a jumkin jehis ru:hah qawj in situations specific he has type of the power it possible he feel strong</p>	
315- F	in certain situations have a kind of power (0.5) they might feel strong (.)

<p>يجي قدام مرة والا قدام زوجته والا بنته jezj qidda:m marah walla qidda:m zawzatah walla bintah come he in front of woman or in front of wife or daughter</p>	
316- F	so one might speak to a woman such as his wife or his daughter

<p>يكون كلامه مباشر لكن النساء (0.4) النساء بصفة عامة (0.5) هذه jaku:n kala:mah muba:fer lakin ?ansa:wi:n ?ansa:wi:n bisifa ?a:mmah hadih be his speech direct but the women the women in general usually</p>	
317- F	directly but women (0.4) women in general (0.5) usually

<p>متعودين علي حاجات زي هديا ماهمش متاعين عنف (.) mit?u:di:n ?alà ha:za:t zaj hadja ma:humuf mta:fi:n ?unf they accustomed on things like this no they not of violence</p>	
318- F	don't have a tendency to speak in an aggressive way (.)

<p>و عادة الكلام المباشر ديمة ليه ترتيبات فيها عنف ?adatan wa ?alkala:m ?almuba:fer di:ma li:h tarti:ba:t fi:ha ?unf and usually the speech the direct always have arrangements in it violence</p>	
319- F	and direct speech is usually aggressive

<p>و فيها كذا و فيها ردة فعل سيئة fi:ha wa kada fi:ha fi?el raddat saj?ah and it in like that and reaction bad</p>	
320- F	and the reaction to it is usually bad and so on

أ: لكن هو الكلام الغير مباشر أكثر شي (.) للنساء	lakin hu:a ʔalkala:m ʔalvair muba:fer ʔaktar faj linnisa:ʔ	but it the speech the not direct more thing the women to
321- A	[ But indirect speech is more common among (.) women ]	

ف: هم يتجاملوا بيه هم ليش (.) لانهم ييوا	humma jetza:mlu: bi:h humma lajʃ liʔannhum jebbu:	they compliment they it with they why them because want they
322- F	[ They usually use it (.) because they want ]	

يوصلوا رسالتهم بدون ما ينضروا منها	jwsʕlu: risa:lithum bidu:n majendʕarru: minha	reach they their message without harm they it from
323- F	to convey their messages without being affected by them	

However, although the male Libyan informants tended to describe indirect speech as both positive and negative, depending on the situation and context, when asked whether the type of indirectness, which they claimed to be used more by women, is positive or negative, they responded as follows (see Appendix D, pp. 170-171, lines:324-333):

أ: باهي هو تبع السؤال و هل هذا النوع منتشر	ba:hj hu:a jatbaʕ ʔasswʔa:l wa hal hada ʔannu:ʕ muntafer	ok it follow it the question and do this the kind widespread
324- A	OK, there's a completion of the last question, is indirect speech aa	

هل هذا النوع سلبي أم ايجابي يعني (0.6)	hal hada ʔannu:ʕ ʔam salbj ʔjza:bj jaʕnj	do this the kind or negative positive mean
325- A	is this kind of speech negative or positive I mean (0.6)	

[ (أصوات في الخلفية) ]	
[ ((Not clear)) ]	

ف: سلبي سلبي (.)	salbj salbj	negative negative
------------------	-------------	-------------------

326- F	Negative negative (.)
--------	-----------------------

	ر: نعم naʕam yes
--	------------------------

327- R	What
--------	------

	أ: هذا ال السؤال هذا الاخير اللي توا سألتهملكم (.) ʔal hada ʔasswʔa:l hada ʔalʔaxi:r tawa saʔalthu:lkum the this the question this the last that now you to it ask I
--	--

328- A	This was the, the last question I asked you (.)
--------	---

	هل إ سلبى أم ايجابى يعنى ] jaʕnj ʔjza:bj ʔam salbj aa hal mean positive or negative aa do
--	--

329- A	is it negative or positive I mean [
--------	--

	ف: سلبى جدا (0.4) ziddan salbj very negative
--	--

330- F	[ So negative (0.4)
--------	------------------------

	أ: اللي هو إ الكلام الغير المباشر منتشر أكثر بين Bajn ʔaktar muntafer ʔalmba:fer ʔal ʔair ʔalkala:m hal aaaa hua: ʔillj between more widespread the direct the not the speech do aaaa it that
--	---

331- A	The question was that aaaa, is indirect speech more common among
--------	--

	الرجال أم النساء (.) فهمت (.) و هل هذا النوع (.) سلبى أم ايجابى ʔjza:bj ʔam salbj ʔannu:f hada hal wa fhamit ʔannisa:ʔ ʔam ʔarriʒa:l positive or negative the kind this do and understood the women or men
--	--

332- A	men or women (.) OK. (.) and is this kind of speech (.) negative or positive?
--------	---

	س: سلبى لانه يسبب مشاكل واجد (1) بين العائلات بالذات (.) biðða:t ʔalʕa:ʔila:t bajn wa:ʒid mafa:kil jusabib liʔannah salbj especially the families between many problems cause it it because negative
--	--

333- S	Negative because it causes lots of problems (1) especially among families
--------	---

Thus, the male Arab participants evaluated the type of indirectness, which they claimed to be used more by women, as negative. Such answers are interesting, because none of the male informants mentioned such negative use of indirectness when discussing indirectness in



general but, when linked to women's use, their view of indirectness changed. Indirectness in this case was described as (see above) 'negative' and 'so negative', due to the problems it causes, especially among families. This might reflect the negative evaluation of indirectness in Libyan society in general, but also raises the question of whether indirectness is believed to be used more by males or females (an ideological belief) and whether there is a difference between males and females with regard to using such speech at a perceptual level.

### 6.3.5. Is There any Difference between Males and Females' Perceptions of the Use of Indirectness?

All of these negative expressions, which are used to describe indirect speech in Libyan Arabic, reflect the negative evaluation of such speech. It is in this context that one must view the many expressions that the Libyans have to describe indirectness. However, none of these names were mentioned by the male participants.<sup>164</sup> This is not to say that negative indirectness is never used by men, but it might be less common among them.<sup>165</sup> By contrast, the English informants provided neutral descriptions of indirectness (see Appendix, pp. 186-187, lines: 286-292). However, when the English informants were asked to list words which are usually used to describe directness, they provided negative descriptions (see Appendix, p. 187, lines: 295-304), as follows:

295- M: = direct could be seen as being rude (0.5) abrupt (1)

296- D: Direct

297- Z: [ Those those names are for direct  
[

---

<sup>164</sup> After the male focus group discussion, I asked my assistant for the session, on my behalf, to show them the words associated with indirectness mentioned by the women to see if they recognised any of them. They mentioned that 'injecting' and 'making meanings' were familiar, while the others were not.

<sup>165</sup> However, some of the male Libyan informants used some negative expressions to describe indirectness during the discussion, such as 'throwing words', as I have shown above.

298- D: Direct yeah  
 [

299- M: Direct but (.) if somebody was very direct you

300- would say oh they've been abrupt =

301- J: [ Blunt

302- M: [ = or they've been

303- P: [ Blunt yeah

304- Z: [ Blunt! emm

Such evaluations of directness and indirectness reflect, at least partly, the ideological beliefs about these forms in both societies. Indirectness seems to be evaluated negatively by the Arab informants, especially when it is linked to women's use, while directness seems to be seen as negative by the English informants and linked more to rudeness and imposition.

#### 6.3.6. Indirectness needs Skills

Indirectness was seen by both groups, Arabic and English, as a form of *sophisticated* speech that needs certain skills. For English, the individuals who are skilful in using indirectness are described positively as 'diplomatic' (see Appendix E, p. 182, lines: 148-155). For the male Libyan participants, individuals who do not have the skills to speak indirectly (in requesting something, for example) can find other ways to convey their message (e.g. through a mediator) (see Appendix D, p. 148, lines: 148-155). However, for the female Arab informants, being skilful in using indirectness is more about being able to use 'techniques of retaliation'. In other words, using indirectness to defend themselves while being attacked or criticised indirectly (see Appendix C, pp. 128-129, lines: 390-398), as follows:

] ز: لا قصدي مرات ت ت تردى بغير المباشر حتى انت ] ?inti hattá ?almuba:fer biyair triddj t t marra:t qas'dj la you even the direct not with reply you y y sometimes I mean no	
390- Z	] No I mean sometimes y y you yourself reply indirectly ]

] ح: حتى انت تردى بغير المباشر ] ?almuba:fer biyair triddj ?inti hattá the direct not with reply you you even	
391- H	] You reply indirectly then ]

] ز: و تبدوا عاد تردوا على بعضكم (.) و هكذا ((ضحك)) ] hakaða wa baʃudʃkum ʃala triddw ʃa:d tabdw wa so on and you together on reply you so start you and	
392- Z	] And you start speaking to each other indirectly (.) and so on ((laughter)) ]

ح: هذه فنيات هذه ((ضحك)) متاعة خبرة ] ʃibra mtaʃit hadj fanni:at hadj experience of this techniques this	
393- H	] It is a matter of techniques then ((laughter)) this needs an experience ]

] ف: ليها ناسها = ] na:sha li:ha its people it to	
394- F	] This needs experienced people ]

<p>ز: تبي ناسها ] na:sha tibbj its people want it</p>	
395-Z	<p>[ This needs experienced people ]</p>
<p>ف: = فالحة ] بال ((ضحك)) ] bil fa:laħa to the skilful</p>	
396- F	<p>[ Skilful enough to ((laughter)) ]</p>
<p>ح: خبرة في التلقيح (0.3) يقول كلمتها في فمها مش كلمتها ħibra fj attalki:h jaqu:llik kalmitha fj fammha miħ kalmitha of experience the vaccination you to say he in her mouth not her word her word</p>	
397- H	<p>[ People who have an experience in 'injecting' (0.3) as the proverb says: some women have their words in their mouths but others left their words ]</p>
<p>عند أمها ħind ʔummħa with her mother</p>	
398- H	<p>with their mothers</p>

One of the female Arab informants (H, see above) used the Arabic proverb 'some women have their words in their mouths, but others left their words with their mothers',<sup>166</sup> to describe two types of women: the first type (whose words are in their mouths) are skilful, so they can retaliate immediately, but indirectly, while the second type (whose words are with their mothers) are unskilled, so they usually feel upset at being offended 'indirectly' and not able to retaliate. Thus, although both the English and Arab informants agreed that

<sup>166</sup> A metaphorical proverb used to refer to situations where some women can retaliate, even if the offence is indicated indirectly, while others cannot, because they lack of the 'skills' that enable them to do so.

indirectness needs skills, the evaluation of these skills seems to differ. For the English informants, these skills are needed for positive purposes while, for the Arab informants, particularly the females, such skills are used for negative purposes.

#### **6.4. Concluding Remarks**

The descriptions of directness and indirectness by both groups, Arabic and English, which are discussed in this section, clearly reflect the linguistic ideologies of what constitutes both forms in these communities. The main research question that has been addressed throughout this chapter is whether (in)directness perceived differently in Arab and English cultures. The responses of the informants to the questionnaires and focus groups do appear to substantiate certain similarities between Arab and British groups surveyed. For example, in general, there is an agreement between both groups about the concept of (in)directness: directness is described as explicit, while indirectness is seen as implicit. Both groups perceive indirectness as being polite, impolite or both according to the context. However, the major difference between Arab and English groups is that directness, in general, is perceived by the English informants as impolite and indirectness as polite. By contrast, indirectness seems to be seen as impolite by the Arab informants and directness is perceived as polite. Thus, “different cultures give precedence to different values, which, moreover, interpreted differently” (Sifianou, 1992: 94). However, although such beliefs provide valuable insights into how directness and indirectness are evaluated by both groups, they do not necessarily reflect the actual use of these forms.<sup>167</sup> Thus, in the following chapter, which analyses naturalistic data, I

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<sup>167</sup> For example, English people might be more direct than they are aware, as I will show in the following chapter.

investigate the extent to which individuals from both the Arabic and English communities conform to the way they feel they and others *should* speak.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Data Analysis: Naturalistic Data**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

My naturalistic data are based on several resources, including recorded data, log-book data and some examples of (in)directness that the participants had provided both on the questionnaires and during the focus group discussions. The main aim of this chapter, thus, is to investigate whether the traditional theories of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983) can be used adequately to analyse cross-cultural interactions. It also aims to examine the extent to which people from both Arabic and English communities conform to the way they feel that they and others should speak or behave (as discussed in the questionnaires and focus groups), and compare this with the way in which they do speak or behave. The research question that the results of this chapter address is: To what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness, and directness and impoliteness? I divided this part of the data analysis into three main sections: in the first section, I discuss directness and its relation to politeness and impoliteness, Following this, I investigate the relationship between indirectness and politeness. Finally I show how indirectness can be used to send hidden impolite messages.

#### **7.2. Directness and (Im)politeness**

This section is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on the way in which directness is mitigated in both Arabic and English. It aims to show how the ideologies of dealing with direct speech through mitigation can be similar in both cultures, but through different strategies which are affected by different cultural norms and expectations. It also aims to show that the Arabic preference for direct forms in some situations does not necessarily mean

that they do not seek modification to mitigate the impact of direct forms of speech, which are seen as appropriate and are thus conventionalised as a norm. In the second part, I show that some direct forms of speech are intensified in certain situations due to different ideological motivations (which will be discussed later). By doing so, I aim to illustrate the point that Arabic and English cultures should not be portrayed as polar opposites, as they are usually described, as they share the goal of displaying appropriate behaviour but by using different strategies, due to the different expectations they are expected to meet in their communities.

### **7.2.1. Mitigating the Force of Direct Speech**

In this section, I consider some examples which illustrate how the ideologies about what is considered appropriate might be similar in both Arabic and English cultures, but that they “may be mitigated by other concerns and expectations” (Grainger et al., 2015: 42) which cause certain behaviour to be considered conventionalised. The first example took place between an English mother (in her 50s) and her two sons, whom I labelled ‘Mack’ (17 years old), and Jack (21 years old), at lunch time. This example is from my Recorded Data (see Appendix G, pp. 206-207).

#### ***Example (1)***

- 1- Jack: I thought you said play I was like you can stand up on some plays.
- 2- Mother: (.) More?
- 3- Jack: (.)Yes please.
- 4- Mack: (.)What plays can you stand up in?
- 5- Jack: The globe.
- 6- Mother: About that (.)
- 7- Jack: (0.3) Urrr a little bit smaller (.)the globe theatre you can stand up (.) a::nd  
[
- 8- Mack: That’s because
- 9- they didn’t have chairs then.
- 10- Jack: There’s some others actually  
[



- ((cough))
- 11- [ Jack: They have chai::rs.
- [  
((Not clear))
- 12- Mack: [ They hadn't invented them
- [
- 13- Jack: That's not true
- 14- though
- [
- 15- Mack: Can I have some more.
- 17- Mother: ↑ Just ↓ a minute.
- 18- Jack: (0.4) Some others as well (0.6 not many but some (1) ((whispering)) It wasn't
- 19- funny
- ((Not Clear))
- [
- 20- Mack: Then why did you laugh?
- [
- 21- Mother: How about that
- 22- Mack: Yes please (3)
- 23- Jack: So Mack (.) it looks like you're in on your own tonight (.)
- 24- Mack: Really
- [
- 25- Mother: Yeah cause I'm out (2) Which one do you want, that one or that one
- [
- 26- Jack: ↑ Why are you so ↓ lo::nely
- [
- 27- Mother: Mack?
- 28- Mack: Actually I'm going out tonight. Urrr that please.
- 29- Mother: This one? (.)
- 30- Mack: ↑ Yes ↓ please (.) not a ↑ lot ↓ please.

In the above example, Mack's request, in line 15 (Can I have some more), which is usually classified as a kind of directive, is mitigated through using what is called 'conventional indirectness', in order not to impose on the hearer, who is (as a mother) already in a higher position. Furthermore, besides using an appropriate linguistic structure, Mack frequently combines this with a certain intonation (line 30: '↑yes ↓please; not a ↑lot ↓please') and the

polite expression ‘please’, which he uses four times within a few seconds (lines: 22, 28, 30). According to Searle (1979), the linguistic structure of this request, which is a suggestion, is ‘a very modest attempt’ to get the hearer to do something for the speaker, and thus, according to Searle, it is polite. However, it seems that, in this example, there is a convention that it is appropriate to use such linguistic strategies in similar recurrent situations in British-English. Thus, certain elements of behaviour are conventionalised and routinised over time within English culture to be seen as appropriate, which might be similar to or different from the other cultural groups.

In Libyan-Arabic, the force of directives is also mitigated through using certain strategies, albeit it is different from English due to the different cultural norms and ideologies, as I show in the following Arabic example, which is from the Recorded Data. This conversation took place among members of the same family (a mother and her three daughters) at tea-time. I have labelled the individuals who were present at the following conversation as follows: Y= the mother, 59 years old; and her daughters: A= 38 years old; S= 33 years old; and H, 31 years old (see Appendix F, pp. 191-192).

### Example (2)

		شوية ↑ fwaja little	شاهي ↓ fahi tea	اعطيني ʔatʕjni: me give	يام (.) ya:m mum
1-A:	Mum, give me ↓a little ↑tea				

					ي: (0.5) وينه؟ wainah it where
2- Y	(0.5) There is no more tea				

				شاهي (.) fahi tea	تبي (ه) tibbj want
--	--	--	--	-------------------------	--------------------------

3-: A	H wants tea (.)
-------	-----------------

	شاهي ] jahi tea	ما فيش mafi:f not there no	خسارة xsara what loss	س:
--	-----------------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------------	----

4-S:	Oh there is no more tea [
------	------------------------------

	يا (بطة) (.) Batta ja duck o	العشاء ʔalʕafa: the dinner	في fj in	بعدين baʕdain later	شاهي jahi tea	اديرلنا ʔiddjri:lna us to do you	باش ba ʃ you	ه:
--	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------	---------------------------	---------------------	--	--------------------	----

5- H:	[ Em (.) you make tea for us later at dinner (you duck)
-------	--

	الله Allah God	بإذن be-ithn permission with	س: (.)
--	----------------------	------------------------------------	--------

6- S:	(.) God willing = [OK.]
-------	-------------------------

As we can see from the above example, both requests (line, 1; and line, 5) were performed directly through direct imperatives (give me; you do), which is believed to be inappropriate when making requests in English (Sifianou, 1992). Furthermore, no formulaic polite expressions were used in either request. For these reasons, Arabs are usually judged by the English as too direct and thus rude when they are speaking English (Hamza, 2007), which is based on ideological beliefs about what constitutes acceptable behaviour in English culture (Mills and Kadar, 2011). However, as I mentioned above, the notion of mitigating the force of directives seems to be also linked to certain ideologies in Libyan-Arabic. For example, in the first request (line: 1), A mitigated her request to her mother by using two strategies: the first was a certain intonation (↓a little ↑tea) in a way that shows respect; and the second what Sifianou (1992) labels ‘internal modifications’, which was the phrase ‘a little’, used to soften the impact of direct requests. In the second request (line: 5), H asked her sister to make tea for them at dinner, but this time directness was mitigated in a different way, where the word

'you duck', which is often used in banter, was used to address the hearer instead of using her real name, as an indication of closeness and kindness.<sup>168</sup> However, this is not to say that failing to use banter or an item of internal modification has a negative impact, as the speakers used a certain intonation pattern that was required for a successful request, and thus no offence was taken.

Because of the different ideological beliefs about what constitutes appropriate behaviour in both cultures, the Arabic way of requesting might be unacceptable to the English, but the English way of speaking might be inappropriate for Arabs. To illustrate this point, we can cite the following Arabic example which took place between my brother and myself (taken from the Log Book data) (see Appendix F, p. 201):

*Example (3)*

سنتين	أربعة	عمره	ولدي	ليلة	في	خوي	حوش	في	كنت
sni:n	ʔarbʕa	ʕumrah	wildj	lajlah	fj	χu:j	hu:f	fj	kunt
years	four	his age	my son	night	in	my brother	home	in	I was
1-	One night, I was at my brother's home. My four year-old son								

لودي:	قلت	أنا	الريموت.	أعطيني	خالي	لخوي	قال
liwildj	qult	ʔanan	ʔalrimu:t	ʔaʕtʕinj	χa:lʝ	liχu:j	qa:l
my son to	said I	I	the controller	me give	my uncle	my brother to	said he
2-	said to my brother: uncle, give me the controller. I said to my son:						

ما نتخيلش	قال:	و	شافلي	خوي	لخالك	فضلك	قول من
manitχajiliʃ	qa:l	wa	ʃa:flʝ	χu:j	liχalik	fadʕlik	min qu:l
not imagine I no	said he	and	me to looked	my brother	your uncle to	favour of	say
3-	say 'please' to your uncle. My brother looked at me and said: I cannot imagine						

	هذه.	زي	حاجات	صغاري	نعلم	روحي
	hadj	zaj	ħaʒa:t	sʕa:rʝ	nʕallim	ru:hʝ
	this	like	things	my children	teach I	myself
4-	teaching my children things like that.					

<sup>168</sup>This kind of softener is less common than what are called 'diminutives' (e.g. Ahamad becomes Hmaida, or using 'little sister, little brother, little son and so on').

What is interesting about this example is that I did not ask my son to change the linguistic structure he used to make the request, which seems, in spite of its imperative form, to be performed correctly through appropriate intonation and addressing (calling the addressee ‘uncle’). I just asked him to use the formulaic expression ‘please’ to appear more polite. My brother rejected this use of ‘please’ because it seems to be strange for him, as such expressions are not conventionalised to be seen as appropriate in Arabic.<sup>169</sup> The reason why the hearer did not accept such a polite expression as ‘please’ may be because it may indicate social distance, while avoiding such expressions may indicate close relations and familial warmth, which has a priority in Arabic culture.

Thus, imperative forms of speech do not appear to be seen as a problem in themselves in Arabic, as long as they are used with certain strategies, particularly intonation. So, in order to show the difference that different intonation can make, we can consider the following example which is taken from my Focus Group Data for Libyan males (see Appendix D, pp. 160-162, lines: 252-262):

*Example (4)*

مثلا	ماشى	للمصرف	تبي	تصرف	شيك
maθalan	ma:ʃj	lilmasʕrif	tibbj	tusʕruf	ʃaik
for example	walking you	the bank to	want you	withdraw money you	cheque
252- S   for example, when you go to the bank to withdraw some money					

تعطيهم	شيك (.)	هذا	حقك	هذا	طلب (.) مباشر (.)	مدتله
taʕtʕi:hum	ʃaik	haða	haqak	haða	muba:ʕer tʕalb	maddaitlah
them give you	cheque	this	your right	this	direct request	him to gave you
253- S   you just give the banker a cheque (.) this is your right and this is a direct (.) request						

<sup>169</sup> My insistence on my son using the formulaic expression ‘please’ can be attributed to the cultural impact of English culture, as I had already spent several years in England by that point.



		م: طلب ] الشي مباشر ?alfaj muba:fer the thing direct tat <sup>s</sup> lub request you
260- M	[ you request something directly ]	

		ز: مباشر ] صح صح s <sup>s</sup> ah s <sup>s</sup> ah right right muba:fer direct
261- Z	[ Direct right right ]	

		ر: تقول ] الكلام بشكل مباشر (غير واضح) مش ماشي تعارك ?alkala:m tqu:l the speech say you muba:fer bifakil direct form with maff mij walking you not t <sup>s</sup> a:rik fight you
262- R	[ You are just saying it directly ((not clear)) you are not fighting. ]	

As we can see in the above example, although the linguistic structure of requests in lines (255) and (257) was the same ‘give me my money’ (both imperatives), the second request was judged negatively by the other participants. Due to a rising, emphatic stressed intonation that was used to make the request, it was described as ‘fighting’. The first request was not judged in this way although, as I mentioned, it consisted of exactly the same words. This sheds light on the importance of the fact that language is neither inherently polite or impolite (Mills, 2011) but, rather, it is more about the situation and what is seen as appropriate and thus conventionalised within a particular linguistic group.

However, I am not arguing that the above strategies are the only ways open to interlocutors. There are different strategies that can be used in both cultures in different

situations in order to make requests. For example, in Arabic, they might use some indirect forms (as I show in the next section) or polite expressions for something they may conceive of as being very serious. Consider the following Arabic example which took place among the participants in the Arabic Focus Group for males (see Appendix D, p. 167, lines: 298-302):

*Example (5)*

	ف: شن	بتقولي	توا	لما	تبي	مني	فلوس
	ʃin	bitqu:llj	tawa	lamma	tibbj	minnj	flu:s
	what	me to say you will	now	when	you want	me from	money
298- F	So what would you say when you want your money back						

	ن: بنقولك	لو	سمحت	يا	فتحي	كان	ربي	فاتح	عليك
	binqu:lik	law	samaht	ja	fathj	ka:n	rabbj	fatih	ʕalajk
	you to say I will	if	allowed you	oh	Fathi	if	my lord	open	you on
299- N	I would say (Fathi) if Allah opens it to you = [if you can], if you don't mind								

	خلصني	]	]	]	]	]	]	]	]
	ʕallis <sup>ʕ</sup> nj								
	me give my money								
300- N	give me my money back								

	ر: خالصني	]	]	]	]	]	]	]	]
	ʕallis <sup>ʕ</sup> nj								
	me give my money								
301- R	Give me my money back								

	ز: خالصني	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه	ايه
	ʕallis <sup>ʕ</sup> nj	ʔaih	ʔaih	ʔaih	ʔaih	ʔaih	ʔaih	ʔaih	ʔaih
	me give my money	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
302- Z	Give me my money back yes								

In this example, it seems that using some polite formulaic expressions to ask for serious things can soften the impact of the request and is not seen as offensive even when using



imperatives (give me my money back). Thus, the strategies used should meet the expectations and concerns of the interactants in order to be considered acceptable.

Similarly, using forms of what is called ‘conventionalised indirectness’, which is usually described as polite by the traditional politeness theories, does not appear appropriate in certain situations in English. Consider the following English example, which is taken from the English Focus Group data (see Appendix E, p. 186, lines: 258-273):

*Example (6)*

- 258- K: I think yeah I think yeah I think it is how we've been brought up  
[  
259- J: Yes (.) doesn't it it  
260- depends massively yea::h  
[  
261- P: O:K yes  
[  
262- K: Or situations  
[  
263- J: Yeah (0.4)  
264- K: I think it changes doesn't it (.)  
265- M: And that is come my father ((laughter))  
[  
266- P: I would n:ever ever (.) challenge anything my parents (0.4)  
267- M: No  
268- K: No no  
[  
269- P: No (.) never oh God (.) even now I'm fifty six I would I would no (hffff) it's not  
270- is not worth ((laughter))  
[  
((Not clear))  
271- R: Being direct can be just (.) can you lend me ten pounds because I've forgotten my  
272- purse rather than ...  
[  
273- K: Yeah

In this example, the speaker R described asking for money, which is conceived as a serious request, using what is known as ‘conventionalised indirectness’ as ‘direct’ (lines, 271-272:

'Being direct can be just (.) can you lend me ten pounds because I've forgotten my purse'), which, according to the ideological beliefs in Britain, is linked to unacceptable or even impolite, behaviour.

So far, I have discussed several methods that Libyan and British people can use to mitigate the force of directives. In the following sub-section, I investigate the strategies that are used to intensify directness and their relation to politeness in both Arabic and English.

### **7.2.2. Directness and Optionality**

#### **7.2.2.1. Directness and Reducing Options**

In this section, I focus on the strategy of intensifying direct speech, particularly the insistence on the hearer doing something for the speaker in both Arabic and English. In contrast to the above section, in which I investigated the notion of modifying the force of directives, in this part, I show how intensifying the force of direct speech is preferred, if not required, in certain situations. However, before illustrating this point, let us consider the following example and see how it would be analysed and perceived by traditional researchers of cross-cultural politeness. This example took place at lunch-time between an English mother in her 50s, whom I label 'Andrea', and her son (21 years old), whom I label 'David' (this example is from my Recorded Data. See Appendix G, p. 207):

#### ***Example (7)***

1- Andrea: Can you have some more salad?

2- David: Me:::?

[

((Noise in the background))

[

3- Andrea: Yeah.

4- David: I've had loads.

According to the traditional method of analysis, in this example, the interactants perfectly represent how the English are supposed stereotypically to behave in such situations. The offerer used a ‘very modest’ form of directive, which was a suggestion (line 1: ‘Can you have some more salad?’), in order to avoid imposing on the hearer or forcing him to do what the speaker wanted him to do by using direct forms or insisting on the offer (Searle, 1979). On the other hand, the offeree tries to find a polite way to refuse the offer (line 4: ‘I’ve had loads’) because, according to Levinson (1983), refusals are dispreferred acts, and so avoided. However, such assumptions are built on ideological beliefs, because

All languages normalise certain conventionalised elements and forms of behaviour and individuals have the choice as to whether they go along with this linguistic ideology and establish and maintain their social position through conformity to the norm, or whether they establish and maintain their social position through the use of individualistic utterances (Grainger et al., 2015: 48).

Thus, individuals have a choice whether to conform to certain linguistic ideologies (as in the above example) or not. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example which took place between the same individuals who were present in the above example at the same lunch-time (see Appendix G, p. 207):

#### *Example (8)*

- 1: Andrea: Do you not like black olives?  
2: David: No, I hate black olives (.)  
3: Andrea: Well, try that one cause it’s got lemon on it  
4: David: [aaa No, I don’t trust it (0.4)  
5: Andrea: No but just ↑try ↓it (1) it’s really really nice.

In this example, there were three offers (lines 1, 3 and 5): the first took the form of a question, while the second and third were made in the form of imperatives. The process of the offers contains the following sequences:

## **1- Insisting on an Offer:**

1- Offers: As I mentioned above, there were three offers involved in the conversation: one of which was interrogative (line 1: 'Do you not like black olives?') and two imperatives (line 3: try it; and line 5: just ↑try ↓it). Thus, insisting on directives does not seem to be seen as a 'fierce attempt', as Searle (1979) claims, even by the English. Thus, imperatives are not completely avoided by the English, as is thought to be the case.

2- Temptations and alternatives: The offeree was given different temptations in order to persuade him to accept the offer: (line 3: 'try that one 'cause it's got lemon on it'; line 5: 'it's really really nice') which could be seen as a kind of insistence.

## **2-Refusing the Offer:**

1- Insisting on Refusal: The offer was refused directly twice (line 2: 'No'; and line 4: 'aaa No'). The offeree did not feel imposed on, because of the insistence on the offer by his interlocutor, who did not seem to take any offence because of his refusal.

2- Excuses: The offeree provided some excuses (line 2: 'I hate black olives'; line 4: 'I don't trust it') to justify his insistence on refusing, although indicating that you hate something is problematic in English, particularly in regard to food (Stadler, 2011) being offered to you.

As we can see from this example, direct linguistic practices and insisting on them do not necessarily reduce the options open to the hearer, because they can simply refuse to respond positively to the speaker and no offence is taken by either side. Furthermore,

insisting on such linguistic practices is not evaluated as an imposition on the hearer, as claimed by some of the traditional theories (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 1983).

It might be argued, however, that the imposition was not taken in the above example because the offer was made in a familial context. So, it may be acceptable for the offerer, due to her position as a mother, to use such direct forms with her children (as argued in the English focus group data), which might be true. I agree that the relationship between the interactants plays a significant role in determining the way they behave, but my main aim is to show that directives and insisting on them can be found in English conversations which are always described as giving priority to the freedom of the other person through performing indirect forms only. However, I am not saying that freedom is not a priority in English; it is, but the claim that using directives always impedes this freedom is not entirely accurate. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example, where I show that insistence can occur even among friends in English. Three people took part in the following conversation (which is taken from my Log Book data): 'Mary' and her husband 'Jonathan', who had been invited by their friend 'Karin' for lunch. After lunch, Karin offered her guests some cake and they responded as follows (see Appendix G, p. 208):

*Example (9)*

- 1- Karin: Would you like a piece?
- 2- Mary: Yes please (takes a piece).
- 3: Jonathan: No, thank you.
- 4: Karin: Go on! Have some.
- 5: Jonathan: No it's alright. I am still full from lunch.

In this example, whereas Mary immediately accepted the initial offer, which was made in the form of a question (line 2: 'would you like a piece'), Jonathan refused the offer directly

without giving any excuse at first, but he showed his gratitude for the offer (line 3: ‘No, thank you’). Karin then renewed her offer which was coupled with an insistence which was made quite baldly this time with an imperative structure (Line 4: ‘Go on! Have some’). The refusal was then in terms of a reassurance that (line 5: ‘It is alright’) and then an excuse for not accepting the offer (line 5: ‘I am still full from lunch’). When the first and second offers were refused with a reassurance and an excuse, the sequence was brought to a close. Thus, as we saw in this example, although Karin made her second offer quite baldly with an imperative structure, she did not seem to be impeding Jonathan’s freedom of action, as he refused the offer again and did not consider the direct offer as restricting his choice to accept or not. Thus, the claim that directness always restricts choices seems to be a myth. However, after refusing the offer a second time, there was no repeated sequence of offers and refusals and that may be because refusals, in general, are accepted at a certain stage in English to avoid the imposition on the offeree (Grainger et al., 2015). Offers in Arabic seem to take a long sequence of turns before they are accepted or refused, as we will see in the following example (taken from the Recorded Data) which took place between Hind (32 years old; the hostess) and Manal (33 years old; the guest) while Hind was offering fruit to her guests after lunch. Before giving her a dish of fruit, Manal started the conversation as follows (see Appendix F, pp. 192-194):

**Example (10)**

		منال: ماتعطينيش Hind ja ?ana matastʃni:f Hind oh I not me give you no
1-Manal	Hind, don't give me any	
		هند: نعم nʃam Yes
2- Hind	What	

<p>منال: ما تعطينيش mataʕtʃni:ʃ not me give you no</p>	
3- Manal	Don't give me any

<p>هند: علاش ʕalaʃ Why</p>	
4- Hind	Why

<p>منال: لا لا والله ما تعطينيش الحمد لله wallahi la la mataʕtʃni:ʃ ʔalahamdw lillah by God no no not me give you no Thank God to</p>	
5- Manal	No no by God=[please] don't give me any, thank God= [I don't want any more]

<p>هند: باهي اهوه ʔahwah bahj This OK</p>	
6- Hind	So what about this

<p>منال: خلاص لما نشرب القهوة راهو ماعادش ن ] n maʕa:diʃ rahw ʔalqahwa nuʃrub lamma ʒala:sʃ I not that the coffee drink I when enough</p>	
7- Manal	When I drink coffee I can't I [

<p>هند: باهي بنتك بالك تبي حاجة تانية bahj bnajtik balik tibbj ha:ʒa tanja OK your daughter might want she thing Another</p>	
8- Hind	[ What about your {little} daughter she might want something else

<p>منال: تبي بانانا ثاني (. ) تبي بانانا ] banana tibbj tanj banana tibbj Banana want you again banana want you</p>	
9- Manal	{To her daughter} Do you want another banana (.) do you want a banana [

<p>هند: قصدي كان ما تبيش موزة تعطيها          ]          taʃtʃi:ha mu:za matibbi:ʃ kan qasʃdj          Her give you banana not want she no if I mean</p>	
10- Hind	<p>[          I mean if she doesn't want a banana you give her {something else}          ]</p>

<p>منال: الحمد لله؟ (0.4) الحمد لله          ]          lillah ʔalahaṁdw lillah ʔalahaṁdw          God to thank God to thank</p>	
11- Manal	<p>[          thank God↑? = {you don't want any?} Thank God↓ {doesn't want any}          ]</p>

<p>هند: انت منال علاش          ʃala:ʃ Manal ʔinti          Why Manal you</p>	
12- Hind	<p>[          What about you Manal why (.)</p>

<p>منال: ام          Em          What</p>	
13- Manal	What (.)

<p>هند: قصدي اي حاجة بالله عليك زيدي شوية          ʃwaja zjdj ʃalaik billahi haʒa ʔaj qasʃdj          little take more you on God with thing any I mean</p>	
14- Hind	I mean have something for God's sake = [please (informal)] have a little

<p>منال: لا لا خلاص          ɣalasʃ la la          Enough no no</p>	
15- Manal	No no that's enough

<p>هند: باهي عنب شوية هكي (0.3)          hikkj ʃwaja ʃinab bahj          Like little grapes OK</p>	
16- Hind	A few grapes maybe (0.3)

<p>منال: لا لا          La la          No no</p>	
--	--



17- Manal	No no
<p style="text-align: right;">هند: بالله عليك ]  ʕalaik billahi You on God with</p>	
18- Hind	For God's sake = [please (informal)] [
<p style="text-align: right;">]  منال: الحمد لله والله (.) مش متحشمة كان نبي ناخذ بروحي bru:hj naxið nibbj kan mithaʕma miʃ wallahi lillah ʔalhamdu myself by take I want I if shy I not by God God to thank</p>	
19- Manal 20-	[ Thank God = [I don't want any], by God = [really] (.) I'm not shy if I want I will take some by myself

In this example, Hind was preparing some fruit to give to Manal. Hind asked her not to give her any using an imperative form (line 1: 'don't give me any'). Hind did not hear Manal's request at first, so she repeated it using the same bald structure (line 3: 'don't give me any'). Hind asked the reason for Manal's refusal to find out whether it was sincere or ritual. Manal did not give an excuse at this stage, which made Hind repeat her offer. This time, Manal gave an excuse that she could not eat after drinking coffee, which was seen as a convincing reason to Hind. However, this did not satisfy Hind's desire to be seen as a good host; therefore, she asked Manal to find out whether her young daughter, who was already eating a banana, wanted anything else, to indicate that her guest's daughter was as welcome as she was herself. Hind started again offering some fruit to Manal, using different strategies for insisting on her offer, trying to persuade her by invoking God (lines 14 and 18) and offering a choice of any kind of fruit the guest would like, instead of taking the whole offered fruit (lines 14 and 16). After several turns of offering, refusing and insisting, Manal asserted her sincerity by claiming that she was not shy, which is usually considered one of the main reasons why hosts/esses insist on their offers, and supported her claim by invoking God (line

19: ‘by God I’m not shy’). When Hind was convinced that Manal’s refusal was genuine, she stopped insisting, and they both turned their attention to other guests. Thus, as I mentioned in Section 4.3.3., in Arabic, “the insistence is a display of genuine generosity” (Grainger *et al.*, 2015: 59), since it is seen as a significant part of the ritual routines that are required for a successful offer. It is also worth mentioning that directness in such a case does not actually restrict the options open to the hearer and force them to do what the speaker wants them to do because, as we have seen in this example, the hearer refused the speaker’s offer despite the speaker’s insistence.

It might be interpreted that the sequences of such a linguistic practice are completely different in Arabic and English. In order to show that this is not exactly true, let us consider the sequences of the above Arabic example:

### **1- Insisting on offers**

1- Offers: There were three offers in this example: (lines: 10, 12, 14), one of which was made in the form of a question (line 10: ‘What about your {little} daughter? She might want something else’), another was made in the form of an imperative (line: 14: ‘have some’) and the last is a suggestion. (line 16: ‘A few grapes may be’). Note that the offerer used different strategies in making her offer, including questions, suggestions and imperatives, so offers are not always directives in Arabic.

2- Temptations and Alternatives: The offerer used different types of alternative to tempt the offeree to accept her offer. For example, offering a certain type of fruit which was not too big [an orange (line 6: ‘what about this’)], or a small amount of fruit (line 16: ‘a few grapes may be’); shifting the offer to the offeree’s daughter (line 8: ‘what about your {little}

daughter? she might want something else’); and giving alternatives to this offer (line 10: ‘I mean if she doesn’t want a banana you give her {something else}’).

3- Invoking ‘God’: Using formulaic phrase which is equivalent to ‘please’ in English, albeit informal, in lines 14 and 18 (‘for God’s sake’).

4- Asking for Reasons: The offerer asked for reasons for not accepting her offer in line 4 (‘why’); and in line 12 (‘What about you Manal, why’). It should be noted that asking for reasons can be ritual in such cases, so the offeree is not actually required to give reasons. Hence, she did not give any reason after these questions in the above example.

## **2- Insisting on Refusals**

1-Refusing the Offer: The offers were refused directly five times (line 1 and 3: ‘don’t give me any’; line 5: ‘no no ... don’t give me any’; line 15: ‘no no that is enough; and line 17 ‘no no’). The offeree’s insistence on refusal shows that she still has the choice not to respond to the offerer’s repeated offer, which does not restrict her options, despite the insistence on it.

2- Giving Excuses: The offeree provided an excuse for not accepting the offer in line 7: (‘When I drink coffee I can’t I...’). Despite this excuse, the offerer renewed her offer several times.

3- Invoking ‘God’: In order to be seen to be sincere about her refusal, the offeree used phrases that involved God on several occasions: line 5: (‘by God = [please] don’t give me thanks God = [I don’t want any]’; and lines 19 and 20: (‘Thank God = [I don’t want any] by God = [really] (.) I’m not shy if I want to I will take some by myself’).

Although such a linguistic practice in Arabic seems to take a much longer sequence of turns before they are refused than in English (at least in the above examples), I believe that there are some similarities between the two languages. For example, both the Arab and English interactants used similar forms for making offers, including questions and directives, which were made with an imperative structure. They also adopted the same strategy of insisting on the offers through repeated offers, temptations and alternatives (such as in examples 8 and 10), and insisting on the refusal either by offering a direct refusal, or by giving an excuse. However, the main difference between Arabic and English in the above examples is that the Libyan participants occasionally invoked 'God' when they offered or refused an offer. This can be attributed, as I mentioned in Chapters 3 and 6, to the dominance of religion within Libyan society. Furthermore, some religious formulaic phrases that were used in the above Arabic example, as we have seen, can be translated into English as 'please'. Thus, while it might be appropriate to use some polite formulaic expressions in certain situations in English (e.g. requests, see example (1) above), they could be more appropriate for use in other situations in Arabic (e.g. offers), taking other factors (such as the closeness of the relationship among the participants) into consideration.<sup>170</sup>

#### **7.2.2.2. Restricting Options and Politeness**

So far, I have shown that directness and insistence do not necessarily restrict the options of the hearer, who does not seem, according to the above examples, to feel imposed on by repeated actions or insisting on them, either in English or Arabic. Thus, they are not obliged to respond positively to the speaker. In this part, I show that reducing options can be seen as

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<sup>170</sup> However, it should be noted that I am not comparing requests and offers in Arabic and English; merely aiming to evaluate the extent to which directness and insistence can restrict the options open to the hearer in different situations, and the examples discussed so far seem to provide a good view of what is seen as appropriate in both cultures.

appropriate (or even required) in some situations in Arabic,<sup>171</sup> even if the hearer's options are restricted to the extent that they have no choice but to accept what the speaker asks them to do, because it is conventionalised and ritualised as a norm in such a situation. In order to illustrate this point, we can consider the following example (which is from my Recorded Data). Three male friends took part in the conversation, whom I label as follows: Abdu Allah (50 years old); Faris (45 years old); and Hassan (32 years old). Abdu Allah invited Faris and Hassan to his house for lunch and they had this conversation (see Appendix F, pp. 194-197):

*Example (11)*

		ع: عندك ʕindak you have
1-A	Have some	
		ح: عندك عندك ʕindak ʕindak you have you have
2- H	Have some have some	
		ع: لا والله la wallahi no by God
		عندك ما يصير منه ʕindak majsʕjir minnah you have happen no it of
3- A	No ↑by Allah = [I insist] ↓ have some, it couldn't happen = [it is not accepted]	
		ح: والله = wallahi by God
4- H	[ By God = [really] =	

<sup>171</sup>Because the rights of the interlocutor to freedom of action take precedence over any other respects in English, it might be difficult to find English examples where the hearer is forced to do something by the speaker, so discussing this phenomenon in this section will be restricted only to Arabic examples, where it occurs in some situations.

		ع: غير ] كول كول ku:l ku:l vir eat eat just
5- A	[ Just eat eat	

		ح: = كلت مأكله:: ] ma:kla: klait eating ate I
6- H	[ = I have eaten too:: much [	

		ع: باهي (.) صحة ] صحة (0.5) صحتين sa'htain sa'ha sa'ha bahj two health be healthy be healthy OK
7- A	[ OK. (.) be in good health, be in good health (0.5), have two health = [be healthy] [	

		ح: والله العظيم الا خلاص ] ħala:s' ʔilla ʔalʕaðʕji:m wallahi enough but the greatest by God
8- H	[ By God = [really] I don't want any more	

		ع: هيا حسونة (.) ħsu:na haja Hsouna come on
9- A	Come on Hsouna [diminutive] (.)	

		ح: عندك عندك والله عندك عندك (1) ʕindak wallahi ʕindak ʕindak you have by God you have you have
10- H	Have some, have some, by God = [I insist] have some (1)	

		هو hu:a it	ايكال ʔi:ka:l eating	هذا haða this	هو hwa it	حسونة (.) hsu:na Hsouna
11- A	Hsouna (.) do you call this eating = [you ate nothing] [					

		عندك ʕindak you have	الا ʔilla but	والله wallahi by God
12- H	By Allah = [I insist] you have some [			

		هذا (0.4) haða this	تنقيش tanqi:ʃ little	هذا haða this
13- A	[ This is nothing (0.4)			

		الفل (.) ʔilful the full	فل ful full	خلاص (.) χal:s <sup>ʕ</sup> enough	والله wallahi by God	لا la no
14- H	No, by God = [really] I = I've had enough (.) I am really full					

		وياك (.) wi:a:k you and	أنا ʔana I	نقسمها niqsimha it divide I
15- A	Share it with me then (.)			

		لا لا la la no no
16- H	No no [	

		ما نقدرها manaqdarha it can no	بروحي bru:hj myself with	وياك (.) wi:a:k you and	أنا ʔana I	نقسمها niqsimha it divide I
17- A	Share it with me (.) I can't eat it all by myself					

<p>ح: ماهو قتلك (.) باهي نقسموها حني التلاتة (.) ((غير واضح))</p>						
	mahw	qutlik	bahj	niqismu:ha	hnj	ʔattalata
	but	you to said I	OK	it divide we	we	the three
18- H	But I said to you ... (.) OK. let us share it with 'Faris' then (.) ((not clear))					

<p>ع: لا أنا كليت والله عندك عندك عندك أنا كليت والله كليت وكلة باهية</p>						
	ʔana la	klait	ʔana	ʔindak	ʔindak	ʔindak
	I	ate I	I	you have	you have	you have
	no	by God	ate I	by God	ate I	by God
19- A	No, I've eaten too much, by God = [I insist] have some ↑have some ↑have some,					
20-	I've eaten too much, by God = [really] I've eaten too much.					

<p>ف: خلاص خلاص</p>		خلاص	خلاص
		χala:s <sup>f</sup>	χala:s <sup>f</sup>
		enough	enough
21- F	[ That is enough, enough		

<p>ح: غير كول كول كول كول يا راجل</p>					
	vir	ku:l	ku:l	ku:l	ja
	just	eat	eat	eat	o
					man
22- H	[ Just eat eat ↑eat ↑man				

Before analysing the above example, it should be noted that the sequence of turns of insisting on offers and refusals in the above conversation lasts about 80 seconds. This shows how the process of insistence can be fairly long and yet still be seen as acceptable, or even required, in Arabic. However, in this example, I am not analysing the process of insisting on offers and refusals but, rather, on occasions when the hearer might be seen to be obliged to accept the speaker's offer and the strategies used to persuade him/her to do so. This example involved the following strategies:



**1-Invoking God:** God was invoked twice by the offerer: in line 3 ('No ↑by God = [I insist] ↓ have it, it cannot be = [it is not accepted']<sup>172</sup>, and line 20 ('by God = [I insist] have some'). It is striking that this form of swearing allows the hearer no option but to accept because, according to Islamic teachings, whoever swears something by God and it is not done must fast for three days or feed ten poor people so, to avoid the consequences of refusals for the offerer in such cases, the offeree accepts the offered thing or at least something smaller.<sup>173</sup>

**2- Evaluating the Guest's Eating:** The offerer evaluated the guests' eating on two occasions: line: 11 ('do you call this eating = [you ate nothing]') and in line 13: ('This is nothing'). The host preceded his evaluation by using a diminutive form, whereby he changed the name of the guest ("Hassan" to "Hsouna") to indicate closeness and familiarity. However, this is not a real criticism of the way the guest eats but, rather, more a ritual evaluation to show that the guest is not seen as greedy, by asserting that he only ate a small amount of food in order to encourage him to eat more.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, such evaluations made the offeree agree to eat more to show that he liked the offered food and enjoyed his meal, and to confirm that he was not shy (as in the Arabic example (10) above), thus satisfying the host's desire to be seen as a good host.

**3- Alternatives:** Similar to the above examples, instead of insisting on the same offer, the offerer provided some alternatives. For example, after an assertion by the offeree that he was really full (line 10: 'No, by God = [really] it is enough (.) I am really full'), the offerer

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<sup>172</sup> The Arabic equivalent is not given here because it is already given above.

<sup>173</sup> Allah says in the Holy Quran 'فكفارتهم اطعام عشرة مساكين من اوسط ما تطعمون او كسوتهم او تحرير رقبة فمن لم يجد فصيام ثلاثة ايام' which can be translated into English as follows: 'For expiation (for your oaths), feed ten indigent persons, on a scale of the average for the food of your families; or clothe them; or give a slave his freedom. If that is beyond your means, fast for three days. That is the expiation for the oaths ye have sworn' (Sura Almaaidah, verse: 91).

<sup>174</sup> An example about how a guest eating too much can sometimes be judged negatively in Arabic is provided in section 3 of this chapter.

suggested that the offeree should share a piece of meat with him (line 15: 'share it with me'). When this alternative offer was rejected, the offerer gave a reason for sharing, which was (line 17: 'I can't eat it all by myself'), which implied that the piece of meat would go to waste if the offeree continued to refuse to share it. According to religious beliefs, it is highly dispreferred to let food go to waste, so, because he did not want to be the person responsible for this, the offeree accepted the offer, but with the participation of the other guest (line 18: 'But I said to you... (.) OK. let us share it with Faris then').

**4- Commands:** The offerer made his offer in the form of commands and used an emphatic intonation when he asked his guest to eat more in line 5: ('just eat eat') and line 19: ('have some ↑have some ↑have some').<sup>175</sup> Unlike requests, in which such forms are inappropriate (as we saw in example (4) above), in offers, insisting on commands and a rising intonation seem to be more acceptable. They reflect the offerer's sincerity about their offer, because offers are not always seen as sincere if they were optional in Arabic (as I show below). Thus, commands and a rising intonation are strategies used for this goal, because they show that the offerer is sincere about his offer.

According to the above example, the offerer has to ensure that his/her guests are satisfied by his/her service, which is called in Arabic "the duty of hospitality,<sup>176</sup> واجب الضيافة", whereby the offerer is trying his/her best to serve his/her guests through frequent insistence (as I have shown in the above example). Performing this duty can be burdensome for the host

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<sup>175</sup> Another phenomenon that emerges from the Arabic data is the wide use of repetition of imperatives in making offers. Wierzbicka calls the repetition of this sort 'clausal repetition'. It seems that, according to Wierzbicka, one purpose in employing this sort of repetition is to convey the message that "I want you to do something NOW" (Wierzbicka, 2003: 260).

<sup>176</sup> Although the phrase 'duty of hospitality' is understood as referring to the host's obligations towards their guests, this duty is usually respected by the guests, who should allow their host to show generosity and hospitality (Grainger *et al.* 2015).

sometimes, who might prefer to eat only a little or even give up their own meal, in order to serve his/her guests. For this reason, on many occasions in the above example, the guests requested the host to eat, instead of continuing to offer, not because they felt imposed on by the frequent offers, but because the host was seen to be busy in serving them at his own cost (see for example, line 10: ('Have some, have some, by God = [I insist] have some'; and line 22: when one of the guests asserts 'Just eat eat ↑eat ↑man'). Furthermore, in order to show that the host has performed his duty of hospitality perfectly, the guests frequently assert their satisfaction through confirming that they have enjoyed their meal, which implies that the host has fulfilled his duty (see line 6: 'I have eaten too:: much'; line 8: 'By God = [really] I don't want any more'; and line 14: 'by God = [really] I've had enough (.) I am really full'). The host did not want his guests to feel guilty about his efforts to serve them and confirmed that he has already eaten well (see line 19, 20: 'I've eaten too much, by God = [really] I've eaten too much').

Although such routines are expected by both host and guest in Arabic culture, the degree of insistence depends on many factors (such as the situation, the relationship between the interactants and so on) so, in Arabic, the speaker might be assertive (or even aggressive from the perspective of some non-Arab cultures such as English) about their offer and yet still be seen to be behaving appropriately. In order to illustrate this point, I consider the following example (which is taken from the Log Book data) in which a female, Sana (30 years old) visited her female friend, Amani (28 years old). Unexpectedly, after an hour, Sana decided to go home and the following conversation took place between the two friends (see Appendix F, pp. 201-203):

Example (12)

سنا: بنوض	نمشي	يا	أمانى	أنا	توا
binnu:d <sup>ʕ</sup>	nimfj	ja	?amanj	?ana	tawa
get up	walk I	o	Amanj	I	now

1- Sana | Amani, I'm going home now

أمانى: شنو!	والله	ما صارت	بالله
finw	wallahi	mas <sup>ʕ</sup> a:rit	ballah
what	by god	happen not	by God

2- Amani | What! by God = [I insist] it can't be = [you won't go home]

سنا: لا لا	لا	ما تحلفيش	والله	الا	بنمشي
la la	la	matahilfi:f	wallahi	?illa	binimfj
no no	no	not swear no	by God	but	go I

3- Sana | No no, don't swear by God, by God = [really] I want to go

أمانى: علاش	شن	فيه
ʕala:f	fin	fi:h
way	what	it in

4- Amani | Why do you want to go?

سنا: لا	والله	تعرفي	الصغار	و	هكي	بنمشي	والله
la	wallahi	taʕirfj	?alsʕira:r	wa	hikkj	binimfj	wallahi
no	by God	know you	the children	and	like	go I	by God

5- Sana | No, you know the children are waiting for me, by God = [really] I want to go

أمانى: شن	قاعدين	بروحهم	الصغار
fin	qa:ʕdi:n	bru:hhum	?alsʕira:r
what	sitting	themselves	the children

6- Amani | Are your children on their own

سنا: لا	هم	معاهم	بوهم	لكن	والله	الا	بنمشي
la	humma	maʕa:hum	bu:hhum	lakin	wallahi	?illa	binimfj
no	they	them with	their father	but	by God	but	go I

7- Sana | No, their father is with them, but by God = [really] I have to go

أمانى: اقعدى	اقعدى	بلا	هبال	زايد	والله	ماكي	ماشية
?uqaʕdj	?uqaʕdj	bla:	haba:l	zajed	wallahi	makj	ma:fja
stay	stay	without	craziness	more	by God	not	going

8- Amani | Don't be crazy, stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go

سنا: غير	ما تحلفيش	بس
xir	matahilfi:f	bis
just	not swear no	only

9- Sana | Just don't swear by God

أمانى: والله	مادخلني	فيك	الاما	تقعدني	و	مانك	ماشية	توا
wallahi	madaɣalnj	fi:k	ʔillama	tuqaʕdj	wa	ma:nik	maʃia	tawa
by God	me bother not	you of	will	stay	and	not	going	now
10- Amani   By God = [really] I don't bother about what you are saying, you won't go now								

سنا: ماعنكش	حق	تحلفي
maʕindikiʃ	ħaq	tahilfj
not you have no	right	swear
11- Sana   You shouldn't have sworn		

أمانى: خلاص	حلفت	توا
ɣalasʕ	ħalaft	tawa
enough	sworn I	now
1- Amani   I've already sworn by God		

In this example, the guest informed her hostess that she was leaving, which was unexpected because, in Arabic, particularly when you have made an appointment in advance, guests are expected to stay a long time in order to allow their host to show their hospitality by offering different types of food and drink. Because the hostess has only had an opportunity to offer coffee during her guest's short stay, she insisted (by swearing by God) on her staying (line 2: 'by God = [I insist] it couldn't happen = [you won't go home]'). When the guest refused and asked the hostess not to swear by God, because she was aware of the consequences of refusal in the case of invoking God (as discussed in relation to Arabic example 11), the hostess asked why the guest was leaving. Unlike in the Arabic example 10, where asking for a reason was ritual, here this request for a reason was real, to find out whether the guest had a sufficiently strong excuse. The reason provided by the guest was not persuasive, as the children were already being cared for by their father. The real reason might be because the hostess was busy with her studies, so the guest did not want to take up her time. Thus, as part of her duty of hospitality, the hostess had the right strongly to reject this excuse and be assertive about the refusal (line 8: 'Don't be crazy, stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go'), and she even

went further, declaring that her guest's opinion was unimportant (line 10: 'By God = [really] I don't bother about what you are saying, you won't go now'). When the guest saw that the hostess was being assertive about her offer and was thus sincere, she had no choice but to agree to stay.

Thus, reducing options, according to ideological beliefs, might be seen as impeding the individual's freedom of action, and thus be evaluated as impolite in English but, in Arabic, it is not only seen as appropriate, but the absence of such actions could be evaluated negatively, because they are expected by both the guest and the host/ess in similar situations. We can consider the importance of reducing options in the above example and the consequences of failing to meet the expectations in the following points:

**1- Not Opening Options is Expected:** The guest in the above example (example 12) expected her request to leave to be refused, so did not prepare a strong reason for her request ritual, because she did not want to be seen as what is called in Arabic "a heavy guest, [dʕajf θaqi:l]" "ضيف ثقيل", which can be translated into English as "an unwelcome guest", who had overstayed her welcome. The hostess, on the other hand, needed to show her sincerity through assertion, or even aggression at times, in order to be seen as a good hostess. However, the hostess' insistence here is not only seen as an obligation within the duty of hospitality, but also as a right which should be respected. For example, if the guest was blamed for being late by her husband, she would justify her lateness by confirming that the hostess "caught her, [ʕaddat fi:ha] شددت فيها", which means that 'she insisted on not letting her go' and this would be respected. Furthermore, non-opening options make the guest feel that her presence is appreciated, a person with whom the hostess enjoys spending time.

**2- Opening Options are Dispreferred:** In this example, both the hostess and guest had certain expectations which they are expected to meet in order for their behaviour to be evaluated positively. The guest expects insistence on her staying. If this expectation were not met, and the hostess respected her desire to leave, because she does not want to impede her freedom of action through insistence (as in English), that would have greatly upset the guest. She would have interpreted this as being seen as an unwanted guest whom the host would like to leave.<sup>177</sup>

**3- Reducing Options is a Right:** Within the duty of hospitality, the guest has the right to be offered hospitality, but must also respect the host/ess' right to show it (Grainger et al. 2015). This hospitality, as we have seen, can be demonstrated through insistence and reducing options, but the host/ess can also use what might be seen as 'aggressive language' in English, such as a command (line 8: 'stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go'); evaluating the guest (line 8: 'don't be crazy') and evaluating her opinion (line 10: 'By God = [really] I don't bother about what you are saying, you won't go now'). If such assertive language were to be used in other situations (e.g. a request, or criticism), it might be seen as offensive, but here, because the hostess has the right to use such language, through which she illustrates sincerity, it seems appropriate or even required, because the guest, who wanted to be sure that her stay was desired, did so in a genuine attempt to force her hostess to prevent her from leaving.

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<sup>177</sup>The Arabic expression that is usually used in such cases (where the departing guest complains that they are not being urged to stay) runs: "ما شدوش فيا حتى بالكذب" which means that 'the host/ess is not even pretending to insist that I stay'.

Unless a strong reason is provided by the hearer, it is highly dispreferred to insist on refusing this kind of offer. Thus, such strategies oblige the hearer to comply with the speaker's wishes so, if the hearer in the above example insists on leaving, despite the speaker's insistence, that would be evaluated negatively because, as I mentioned above, the hostess was not given an opportunity to demonstrate her hospitality. However, hosts/esses do not always easily give up their right for their offer to be accepted, even when their guests' desire to leave is genuine, and they sometimes resort to even more aggressive methods in order to persuade their guests to accept their offer. This method is called in Arabic "malama, ملامة" or "ʕita:b, عتاب", which can be translated into English as "reproach". To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example (taken from the Recorded Data) which took place between three Libyan women: Mariam, the hostess (40 years old); Nada, a guest (32 years old); and Nada's mother, a guest (59 years old). Nada and her mother were visiting their relative, Mariam, who lives in another town, and spent the night with her. Mariam invited them to stay for another night, which was evaluated as a serious offer. Hence, Nada and her mother repeatedly and genuinely refused Mariam's offer, providing different reasons, which she did not accept. Because they did not want to burden her, both guests requested her not to swear by God at the beginning of her offer (which might be ritual). Therefore, Mariam resorted to another method to assure her guests that she was serious about her offer and that their staying was genuinely desired. After a long sequence of turns of insisting and refusal, which lasted over a minute, the hostess became assertive and used a 'reproach' for her offer to be accepted as follows (see Appendix F, pp. 197-198):



Example (13)

<p>م: متقللة من شفيد لهني (.) يا شفشة          ]          jiffa ja lahnj fefild min mitqaliqla          skunk o here to Sheffield from travelling</p>	
1- Mariam	Coming all the way from Sheffield to here (.) you skunk ]

<p>ن: ((ضحك))          ]</p>	
2- Nada	[ ((Laughter)) ]

<p>م: والله ما تتحشمي (.) معليشي ↑ سامحيني ↓ يعني          jaʕnj samhi:nj maʕlaiʃj matithaʕmj wallahi          mean me forgive me excuse ashamed you not by God</p>	
3- Mariam	By God =[really] you ought to be ashamed (.) excuse me ↑forgive ↓me = [sorry]

<p>ن: يا اختي هذه ماتغليبهاش اغليبها يا يما ((ضحك))          ja ʔuxaitj hadj mataʕlibha:ʃ ʔilbi:ha jumma ja          o my little sister this not her defeat her defeat mum o</p>	
4- Nada	O my little sister = [oh my God] I can't defeat = [convince] her, defeat =
5-	[persuade] her, mum.

<p>أنا والله ما نغلبها (.) والله ما نقدرها          ]          ʔana wallahi manarlibha wallahi maniqdirha          I by God her defeat no by God her able not</p>	
6-	By God = [really] I can't defeat = [convince] her (.) I'm not able to do so

<p>م: ((غير واضح))          ]</p>	
7- Mariam	[ ((Not clear)) ]

<p>الأم: أنا نتصنت و خلاص          ʔana nitsʕannit wa ʕala:sʕ          I listen I and only</p>	
8- The mother	[ I'm just listening

In this example, the hostess criticised her guests for incurring the trouble of travelling all the way to the town where she lived to stay only for one night. Although the word ‘skunk’ is usually used by the Libyans as a form of banter, showing closeness and kindness, here it was more used as a ‘reproach’ to blame the young guest for not accepting her offer.<sup>178</sup> Further, while the phrase ‘you ought to be ashamed’,<sup>179</sup> is usually used to criticise people who are behaving really badly, here it was used to reproach the young guest, Nada, for resisting her offer. Because this phrase was extremely offensive, the hostess followed it with an apology (line 3: ‘excuse me ↑forgive ↓me = [sorry]’), as it might offend the guest. Both guests failed to persuade the hostess to let them leave (see line 4: ‘Oh my little sister = [oh my God] I can’t defeat = [convince] her’; line 5: ‘defeat = [persuade] her, mom’ and line 8: ‘I’m just listening’). Both guests then agreed (or were obliged to agree) to spend another night with their hostess.

From the above discussion, it is clear that insistence and consequently non-opening options are not necessarily impolite. Rather, they might be appropriate, or even required in some situations, as in the case of Arabic offers. As we have seen, within the host/ess’ duty of hospitality, the guest expects insistence or even reduced options by the host/ess to be assured that they are welcome. Equally, the host/ess has the right to use insistence and non-opening options as a way of demonstrating sincerity and thus good hospitality. The reasons provided for refusing the offer may not always be accepted, despite an insistence on the refusal,

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<sup>178</sup>Here, the hostess directs her speech to the younger guest, because, in general, it is not acceptable in Arabic to speak in that way to older people.

<sup>179</sup>It should be noted that such a phrase can be used among very close friends or relatives (e.g. parents to children, or among siblings and friends) with regard for failing to behave as expected, for rejecting an offer and so on but, because the relationship between the wider family is less close, she might feel that it might be seen as offensive by her guest.

because the host/ess, as we have seen in examples (12 and 13) above, still has the right to use assertive language, or even what might be seen in English as aggression, for their offers to be accepted, as long as the offer has no negative impact on the guest (e.g. if they have a serious reason for their refusal). Thus, directness can be intensified according to the context and yet still be seen as acceptable due to certain ideologies about what is conceived as appropriate.

Several researchers (House, 2012; Fukushima, 2002; Sifianou, 1995) argue that directness can be seen as polite in some cultures, because it is not seen as impeding the individual's freedom of action. However, in this research I would go further and suggest that directness needs to be even intensified in some situations (e.g. offers) in some cultures (e.g. Arab) where insistence and non-opening options are used to indicate sincerity and hospitality. The results of the Arabic data analysis have shown that reducing options (which can be judged as assertive or aggressive language by non Arab cultures) is not seen as impolite, as claimed by some traditional theories (Leech, 1983; Searle, 1979), because it is seen as a part of ritual routines. These results have also shown that directness does not necessarily restrict options.

### **7.3. Indirectness and Politeness**

In the previous section, we have seen that directness and insistence do not necessarily restrict options, and reducing options is not necessarily considered impolite. In this section, I discuss the notion of indirectness and its relation to politeness, through investigating the claim that indirectness necessarily opens options and thus is necessarily seen as polite. Thus, in this section, I show how opening options for different interpretations can be evaluated negatively in both Arabic and English, and how indirectness does not necessarily open options.

### 7.3.1. Opening Options and Politeness

As I mentioned in Section 4.3., one reason for describing indirectness as being more polite than directness is because the former raises the level of ‘optionality’ and consequently reduces the force of the illocutions on the hearer (Leech, 1983). In other words, indirectness is seen as having more than one possible illocutionary force, and thus the interlocutor has a choice to respond to the force that suits them and ignore other forces. That would save face for both the speaker and hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987). However, I would argue that opening options through indirectness is not always evaluated positively. In order to illustrate this point, we can consider the following English example, which was mentioned by one of my female English informants M who took part in the English Focus Group discussion, when I asked them to define directness and indirectness (see Appendix E, p.77, lines: 20-21):

#### *Example (14)*

- 20- M: Yeah but sometimes direct  
21- and indirect is like I said are we meeting on Saturday and the person I said it to went oh  
22- aaa o:h I d o:h (0.4) and gave me an indirect answer (.) so I assumed that it is still going  
23- to be happening (0.6) had she's just given me a direct answer and said no  
[  
25- K: No  
26- M: (0.3) Then (0.5) I would've been less confused.

In this example, the speaker was obviously irritated by the indirect answer given by her interlocutor, who seemed to avoid directness in order to give the speaker an opportunity to interpret her answer indirectly. This way of opening options for different interpretations seems to be evaluated negatively by the speaker who preferred a more direct answer, because that would be less confusing for her. Thus, opening options through different interpretations in such situations seems to cause confusion rather than being evaluated as being polite.

Thus, describing English as a language where indirectness is preferred in all situations seems to be inadequate, because there are some situations in which directness is the preferred choice. However, on the basis of this one example alone, we cannot be sure that this claim is true, so we can consider the following example, which is taken from my Questionnaire data (see Questionnaire B-2, p. 41):

*Example (15)*

Recently a colleague was upset because her printing to our work printer was being held up by some printing that someone else had sent (this was me!): a large job. Instead of asking something like “does anyone know whose is the large job printing at the moment – I need to interrupt it”, she instead said something like “Oh my god, there’s a large printing job going through”

According to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) view of the degree of politeness, an utterance like ‘there’s a large printing job going through’, which is ‘off-record’, is the most polite strategy that the speaker can use (see 4.3 for an explanation of their strategies). However, according to the informant’s comment, it seems that he would have preferred a more direct form, such as ‘does anyone know whose is the large job printing at the moment? I need to interrupt it’ because, he seems to be annoyed at the way his colleague made her request. He commented:

She didn’t directly ask who was printing, or if anyone could help with her problem. What she was trying to do (unconsciously or consciously) was get someone to feel sorry for her, and possibly help her to sort out the problem, without directly talking to the only two people who could have been responsible for the large print job and asking them if she could interrupt it.

Thus, instead of interpreting her indirect method of request as an attempt to be polite, as it would be using the traditional theories, it was evaluated negatively by the informant who perceives it as a way of making people take pity on her.

It is true that different interpretations which are claimed to be associated with indirect speech may hold more than one possible illocutionary force, as Leech (1983) argues (which is supposed to be seen as polite), but opening options for different illocutionary forces is not necessarily considered polite. I illustrate this in the following Arabic example, which took place during the Focus Group interaction for Arab females after one of my participants (N, a close friend of mine) put on her coat and headscarf, because she was very cold, hoping that I would understand her message and turn on the heater. Unfortunately, because I was busy with the other participants, I recognised her hidden message very late. When I asked her later why she had not simply told me to turn on the heater, she said that, because I was very busy, she did not want to interrupt me. Therefore, I used this event to ask my participants which type of requests they preferred in such a case: direct or indirect (either verbal or nonverbal), and the answers were as follows (see Appendix C, pp. 111-113, lines: 264-278):

**Example (16)**

] ف:ايه حتى عادي مثلا انا نحس فيه الجو صقع شوية يا زينب شن fin Zainab ja fwaja s'afaʕ ʔalzaw fi:h nhis aaaa maθalan ʕa:dj hatta ʔaih what Zainab oh little cold the weather it in feel I aaaa for example normal even yes	
264- F	[ Yes, it is fine for example aaaa {if you said} I feel a bit cold Zainab what

] رايك تفتحي الدفاية (.) لو قلتي اا مثلا صقع و هكي انا ʔinnj hikkj wa s'afaʕ maθalan aa qultj law addiffaja tafithj rajik I like and cold for example aa said you if the heater open you your opinion	
265- F	[ if you turn the heater on (.) if you just said aa for example it is cold or so I

بنتحشم أكثر من اا ((غير واضح)) ] aa min ʔakθar binthaʕsem aa than more shy will I	
266- F	would feel embarrassed more than aa ((not clear))

<p>أ: لا حتى أنا صح عندي هكي  hikkj ʕindj sʕah ʔana hatta la  like I have right I even no</p>	
267- A	Yes me too, right, I agree

<p>ف: اممم  Emmm</p>	
268- F	Emmm

<p>((غير واضح))  ]</p>	
<p>((Not clear))  [</p>	

<p>أ: ماهو تقولك افتحني الدفاية↑ و خلاص↓ ليش الف↑ و الدوران↓  ]</p>	
<p>addawara:n wa ʔallaf laif ɣalasʕ wa addaffaja ʔafethj taqu:lek mahw  the turning and the spinning why enough and the heater open you to say she just</p>	
269- A	<p>[</p> <p>Why don't you just say turn on the heater↑ and that is it↓ why you'r going↑ around↓</p> <p>[</p>

<p>ح: تبني تحسسك ان انت راك انت مقصرة في حقها =  ]</p>	
<p>haqqha fj muqasʕra ʔinti rak ʔinti ʔinna thasasik tibbj  her right in delinquent you you you that you that you feel she want she</p>	
270- H	<p>[</p> <p>She may want to make you feel that you are not doing your duty towards her =</p> <p>[</p>

<p>أ: أنا نحس ((غير واضح))  ]</p>	
<p>nhis ʔana  feel I I</p>	
271- A	<p>[</p> <p>I feel that ((not clear))</p> <p>[</p>

ح: = و هكي و...ك = صقع  
 ]  
 sʔaqaf woook hikkj wa  
 cold ooooooh like that and

272- H [ And so on {so she just say} o:::h it is cold =  
 ]

]]  
 ((غير واضح))  
 ]

[  
 ((Not clear))  
 ]

ح: متع انت خيرك ما تبيش تحسي لين يقولو هال::ك  
 ]  
 jqu:lu:hal::k lain thissj matibbi:f ʔairik ʔinti mtaʔ  
 you to it say they until feel you not want you no you good you of

273- H [ like to say: what is wrong with you, do you need to be told directly {to understand}  
 ]

ز: أمل (.) أمل نبي هل هي ليها هي (.) لانها (.) لف و دوران (0.3) ما تبيهاش (.)  
 matibbi:ha:f dawara:n wa laf liʔannaha hi:a li:ha hi:a hal nibbj ʔamal ʔamal  
 not want you no turning and spinning it because it it to it do want I Amal Amal

274- Z [ Amal Amal (.) Amal I want to know whether (.) because it is (.) going around  
 275- (0.3) you don't like it

والا لانها زي ما قالت حنان (.) كأنك انت ما قمتيش بالواجب (2)  
 bilwazib maqumti:f ʔinti kaʔinnik hanan qalet ma zai liʔannaha walla  
 the duty with not do you no you you seem Hanan said like as it because or

276- Z or because it is, as Hanan said (.) as if you aren't doing your duty (2)

أ: لا لا بالنسبة ليا أنا نحس فيها لف و دوران (.) حني لغتنا  
 luyitna hnai dawara:n wa laff fi:ha nhis ʔana li:a binnisba la la  
 our language we turning and spinning it of feel I I me to for no no

277- A No no for me I feel like it is going around, so why I mean (0.4) our language

أبسط من كونك تلفي و ادوري  
 ʔiddu:rj wa tliffj kawnik min ʔabsatʔ  
 turn you and spin you you being than simpler

278- A is simple, so we don't need to go around



According to Leech's view, in this example, the phrase 'it is cold', which was used by some of the participants above, seems to hold more than one possible illocutionary force: the force of both informative and request (for turning on the heater). However, this phrase, which is supposed to open options and thus reduce the force of illocution, was judged negatively by the participants, who responded only to the force of the request. For F, it would be embarrassing if such an indirect phrase were to be used by her guest, for example, to ask her to turn on the heater. She prefers more direct forms, perhaps because it shows the closeness that the guest feels toward her. For H, it is seen more as a criticism for not being hospitable when it is said by a guest, while A interpreted it as 'going around' instead of using direct, simple forms. Thus, although such a phrase is, according to Leech (1983), supposed to open options for the hearer to choose an interpretation that reduces the force of the illocution and thus being more polite, it was judged negatively by the participants who did not consider it a polite way for making requests and they preferred more direct forms. It might be argued that, as Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest, if such indirect forms (or off-record meanings) are chosen to be misunderstood, both the speaker and hearer would save face because they have an 'out'. However, acting as if the meaning of such an indirect speech is not present has negative consequences in Arabic, as we show in the following example (taken from the Arabic Questionnaire data) which the (female) informant mentioned took place between herself and her sister-in-law (her brother's wife) (see Questionnaire A-6, p. 11):

**Example (17)**

أنا	جارة	خوي	و	كنت	لما	زوجته	تبي	تطلع	لمكان	زيارة	حد
ʔana	zarat	χu:j	wa	kunt	lamma	zwʒtah	tibbj	tatʕlaʕ	limakan	zjara	had
I	neighbour	my brother	and	was	when	his wife	she want	go	place to	someone visit	
1- I live next door to my brother. When his wife wants to visit someone or go somewhere,											

و	ما تبيش	ترفع	صغارها	تخليهم	عندي
wa	matibi:ʃ	tarfaʕ	sʕra:rha	txalli:hum	ʕindj
and	not want she no	take she	her children	them leave she	me have

2- she usually leaves her children with me when she does not want to take them with her,

و أنا طبعاً عادي عندي، نتذكر مرة كان عندي دعوة لفرح  
 lifarah daʕwa ʕindj ka:n marra nitðakker ʕindj ʕa:dj tʕabʕan ʔana wa  
 party to invitation have I was once remember I have normal of course I and

3- and I'm always pleased to do so. One day, I wanted to go to a wedding party

بنتي قاعدة صغيرة و عارفة انه استحالة نرفعها معاي للفرح  
 lilfarah maʕaj narfaʕha ʔistihala ʔinnah ʕa:rfa wa sʕavi:ra qaʕda bintj  
 party to me with her take I impossible that know I and small still my daughter

4- and because I have a baby who is too young, I couldn't take her with me,

لان موسيقى و صوت عالي و تقعد تعيط  
 tʕajetʕ tuqʕud wa ʕa:lʒ sʕu:t wa mu:si:qa: liʔanna  
 cry she stay she and loud voice and music because

5- because of the loud music and voices and she would keep crying,

ففكرت اني نرفعها لمرة خوي بس تحشمت نرفعها طول  
 tʕu:l narfaʕha thaʕimit bas ʒu:ʒ limart narfaʕha ʔinnj fafakkart  
 directly her take I shy I but my brother woman to her take I I thought I

6- so I thought of taking her to my sister in law. But I was reluctant to take her directly

قلت خلي نمشيلهم نشوف الجو و طبعاً قللتها اني بنمشي للفرح  
 lilfarah nimʃj ʔinnj qultilha tʕabʕan wa ʔalzaw nʃu:f nimʃi:lhum ʒallj qult  
 party to walk I want I I her said I of course and the air see I them to go I let said I

7- without asking her first. So I went to her house and said to her I would go to the party

لكن مش عارفة كيف اندير لجميلة فعلى طول قالتلي  
 qa:lilj tʕu:l faʕala liʒami:la ʔindi:r ki:f ʕa:rfa miʃ lakin  
 me to said she directly at Jameela to do I how know I not but

8- but I'm just worried about Jameela (the baby's name). She immediately said to me

شن فيها كان رفعتيها معاك حطيلها غياراتها و مرضعتها  
 mardʕi:tha wa ʕiaratha ʔutʕi:lha mʕa:k rfaʕti:ha ka:n fi:ha ʃin  
 her milk bottle and her nappies her put you with her take you if it in what

9- "what is wrong about taking her with you, just put her milk bottle and extra nappies

في شنطة و عدي وجعتني لانني توقعت ان زي ما انا ديمة نمسك  
 nimsik di:ma ʔana zaj ma ʔinna twaqqat liʔannj wizʕitnj ʕaddj wa ʃantʕa fj  
 catch I always I like that expect I because me hurt it go and bag in

10- in your hand bag and go". I really felt hurt; because I am always happy

في صغارها و بكل صدر رحب أكيد حتى هي بتقولني  
 bitqu:llj hi:a hattà ʔaki:d rahib sʕader bikul wa sʕa:rha fj  
 me to say she will she even sure welcome chest all with and her children in

11- for her children to stay with me while she is out, so I thought she would suggest my

خليها	عندي	و	لهذا	ما مشيتش	للفرح.
χalli:ha	ʕindj	wa	liha:ða	mamʕaitif	lilfarah
her leave	me have	and	so	not went I no	party to
12- leaving my daughter with her. So I couldn't go to the wedding party.					

In this example, the speaker's utterance 'I'm worried about Jameela' holds more than one possible illocutionary force: the force of both informative and request (to look after the baby). The speaker used indirectness here because the request was serious, so she avoided saying it directly. However, it should be noted that this type of indirectness in such situations can be regarded as conventional or routine indirectness in Arabic, so the force of it as a request is obvious,<sup>180</sup> and taking up only the explicit one (informative) by the addressee was evaluated negatively by the speaker, who might accuse the hearer of choosing to misrecognize her request, instead of accepting to look after her baby or at least apologize for being unable to do so (line 10: 'I really felt hurt'),<sup>181</sup> especially as the addressee was indebted to the speaker for looking after her children on several occasions (lines 10- 11: 'I am always happy for her children to stay with me while she is out'). However, such an indirect request, which is seen as conventional in Arabic, might not be easily interpreted or accessible in English in similar situations. For example, Grainger (2011) explains the difficulty she faced in understanding her Zimbabwean friend's request for a lift home at the end of an evening out with her and her husband, because she used the same indirect strategy as used by the Arab participants in the above example. The exchange took place between herself and her friend 'Ellen' as follows:

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<sup>180</sup>Because of the vague nature of indirectness, it might be misunderstood in other situations, but here it is clear.

<sup>181</sup>However, I am not saying that the addressee should respond positively to the speaker's request, because they can apologize for being unable to comply and still be evaluated positively. What I am saying is that choosing not to understand is highly dispreferred.

### *Example (18)*

Ellen: I think we will wait for a bus, I don't feel like walking home

Karen: OK. Good night then (Grainger, 2011: 182).

Grainger's reply might be evaluated negatively by native Arabic speakers, where the force of Ellen's utterance as a request is seen as obvious. Thus, such a reply would be taken as ignorance by an Arabic speaker, rather than misunderstanding. However, Grainger justifies her misunderstanding on the grounds that there was no clear evidence for her that her friend was intending to make a polite request through indirectness. Therefore, she simply responded to the clear illocutionary force of this utterance, which is informative. Later that evening, the alternative interpretation occurred to her, Grainger said, so she texted her friend, saying:

### *Example (19)*

Karen: Sorry, should have offered you a lift home. Wasn't thinking straight.

Ellen: Its OK. We were just being lazy. (2011: 183)

According to Grainger, Ellen's response here "suggests that her most accessible interpretation is that of a request for a lift" (2011: 183), which is, due to cultural and ideological beliefs, that are not understood immediately by the English interlocutor, who does not seem to use such strategies in similar situations and would prefer to use other strategies (such as what is called 'conventional indirectness').<sup>182</sup> Thus, while it is appropriate to use direct forms in some situations in Arabic (as we saw in the previous section), which might be evaluated negatively by English people, there are other situations in which the English prefer certain strategies that are seen as inappropriate in Arabic, because they might be evaluated as face-

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<sup>182</sup>Such a strategy might be regarded as more direct and may not appear to signal politeness in such situations in other cultures, such as Arabic and Zimbabwean English.

threatening actions. Therefore, it is not a matter of the Arabs being more direct or the English being more indirect; rather, it is more about how certain conventional elements being normalized over time within a linguistic or cultural group to be appropriate and thus acceptable in certain situations.

Thus, according to the above examples, opening options for different interpretations is not necessarily preferred, as these can be evaluated negatively by the addressees. Hence, more direct forms are preferred in such situations (as in examples 14 and 15 above). Thus, indirectness, despite the different interpretations that it may hold, does not necessarily open options, as we will see in the following part of this section.

### **7.3.2. Indirectness and Reducing Options**

So far, we have seen that opening options through indirectness is not necessarily seen as polite but, rather, might even be evaluated negatively. Here, I would go further and suggest that indirectness does not necessarily open options, as claimed by Leech (1983), because the hearer in some cases is guided towards the intended meaning, and thus no options are really open to them. To illustrate this point, we can consider some Arabic and English examples. I will start by citing an English example (which is taken from the English Questionnaire data) which is mentioned by a male informant (17 years old) (see questionnaire B-21, p. 65):

#### ***Example (20)***

- My mum always saying 'your room is untidy' and she means 'tidy it up'. Really annoying.

The phrase 'your room is untidy' has two illocutionary forces: informative and request. Although the explicit one is the informative, the force of the illocution here does not seem to be reduced, as the participant responded only to the intended meaning (tidying the room),

because it was not actually optional, despite the indirect language that was used to form it. Due to the repeated actions in such situations, there might be no need for the speaker to repeat her request for her son to tidy his room whenever needed. In other words, there is no need for the mother to be explicit, because both interactants share the same repertoire (Terkourafi, 2011). Simply informing him that his room was untidy was enough for the son to be guided to the intended meaning, due to the repertoire that he shares with his mother. Thus, the claim that indirectness is used because it is more optional and consequently more polite is inadequate, because it can be used for frequent and regular actions for which directness could have been used instead. The participant's comment that his mother's request as 'really annoying' may illustrate this point.

Thus, just because the intended meaning is 'hidden' in indirect forms does not guarantee 'optionality'. Furthermore, there are some situations where the form of speech used is direct, while the intended meaning is hidden, as we will see in the following English example (which is taken from the Questionnaire data), provided by a female participant (30 years old) (see Questionnaire B-9, p. 51):

*Example (21)*

- When my mother asks me to 'put the kettle on' she really means 'make me a cup of tea'.

In this example, directness is used to form the first request 'put the kettle on', which, according to Leech (1983), raises the force of illocutions, because it holds only one meaning, which is a request in this case. However, according to the participant, this was not exactly the intended meaning because, beyond this direct request lay another meaning, which was recognised by her due to the same interpretive repertoire she shares with her mother in such a situation. Thus, instead of simply putting the kettle on, she makes tea for her mother. Such a

situation may justify Wilson and Sperber's (2007) claim that communication is indirect because it requires a degree of inferential work.<sup>183</sup> Thus, different interpretations, which are seen to raise the level of optionality and thus as more polite, can also be generated by certain direct forms, so it is not restricted only to indirectness.

Such situations can also be found in Arabic where direct forms can be used to send a hidden message, as I show in the following Arabic example given by one of the (male) participants (37 years old) who took part in my Questionnaire (see Questionnaire A-2, p. 4):

*Example (22)*

في	نهار	ماشيين	نعزوا	في	والد	صاحبنا	في	طرابلس
fj	nha:r	ma:fji:n	nʕazzw	fj	walid	sʕahibna	fj	tʕarablis
in	one day	going we	sympathise we	in	father	our friend	in	Tripoli

1- One day, a friend of mine and I visited a friend of ours in Tripoli for his father's funeral.

و	جي	وقت	الغدي	و	كان	الجو	قبلي	و	حمو	بكل
wa	ʒaj	waqit	ʔalʔada	wa	ka:n	ʔalzaw	qiblʒ	wa	hamw	bukkul
and	came	time	the lunch	and	was	he weather	windy t	and	hot	very

2- It was a very hot and windy day. After welcoming us, we were offered lunch

و	جابوا	الغدي	بازين	و	كان	الايدام	ساخن	يفرط	ليدين
wa	ʒa:bw	ʔalʔada	ba:zi:n	wa	kan	ʔili:da:m	saxen	jafarfetʕ	lidain
and	brought they	the lunch	bazeen	and	was	the soup	hot	burn it	the hands

3- which was 'bazeen'<sup>184</sup> and was very hot

و	صاحبي	اللي	معاي	ياكل	و	يقول	حامية	التركة
wa	sʕa:hbʒ	ʔillj	mʕa:j	jakul	wa	jaqu:l	ha:mia	ʔatterka
and	my friend	that	me with	eat he	and	say he	hot	the thing

4- and my friend was eating and repeatedly saying 'how hot it is',

و	يعاود	فيها	كم	مرة	لين	تحشمت	بكل
wa	jʕa:wid	fi:ha	kam	marra	li:n	thafimt	bukkul
and	repeat he	it of	many	once	so	embarrassed I	too much

5- I was really embarrassed

<sup>183</sup> However, this is not to say that I agree with this claim, because a distinction can be made between the two notions in certain situations.

<sup>184</sup> A kind of Libyan food that needs to be eaten by hand (no spoons).

و	قتله	كول	و	رحم	يا	راجل	لين	فهمها	و	سكت
wa	qutla	ku:l	wa	rahim	ja	ra:zil	li:n	fhamha	wa	skat
and	him to say I	eat	and	bless	o	man	so	he understood it	and	silent

6- and said to him 'eat and bless = [give thanks], man'. My friend understood me and stopped saying it.

The phrase 'eat and bless = [give thanks]', according to Leech's (1983) understanding, involves only one illocutionary force: the force of request (for eating and blessing), so any other interpretations might be impossible due to the reduction in options caused by directness. However, this was not the intended meaning of the speaker, who was embarrassed by his friend's comment on the lunch, in continuing to say 'how hot it is'. In Arabic, as in most other countries, making negative comments about offered food is highly dispreferred so, in this case, the speaker wanted to remind the hearer of what is called in Arabic 'ʔwsʕu:l aldʕjafa أصول الضيافة' which can be translated into English as 'hospitality assets'. That is, whereas the host/ess has certain obligations within 'the duty of hospitality', as we saw in the previous section, the guest also has some rules which need to be respected within 'hospitality assets', so such a comment is unacceptable, because it may cause embarrassment to the hosts. Because asking his friend directly to stop making comments about the food might embarrass him, the speaker chose to use the phrase 'eat and bless' which implies that he should eat without complaining about the food. Although the form that was used to make the request was direct, the intended meaning was hidden, and was understood by the hearer who stopped complaining about the food. Thus, if the main difference between directness and indirectness is that the latter allows for more than one interpretation, where the intended meaning is supposed to be arrived at through inference, it seems that a clear-cut distinction between directness and indirectness in such cases is not always possible, as directness can also sometimes hold different interpretations.



However, it is not only the structure of the utterance or the relationship between the interlocutors that determine the intended meaning of the uttered words. It is also what might be seen as conventional, where the intended interpretation is accessible in certain situations, albeit hidden. To illustrate this, we can consider the following Arabic example, which is taken from the Focus Group data, where the (female) participant (40 years old) explained the situations in which indirectness can be used (see Appendix C, pp. 86-87, lines: 97-107):

*Example (23)*

ف: ايه اكثر شي يكون مع حد يكون مثلا هو فيه يكون	jaku:n fi:h hu:a maθalan jaku:n had maʕa jaku:n ʃaj akθar ʔaih	be it in he for example be someone with be thing more yes
97- F	Yes it is mostly used with people who we have	

ف: قرابة معاه (0.4) زي انا مرة خويا أو (.) بنت عمي (.)	ʕammj bint ʔaw xu:ja mart ʔana zaj maʕah qara:ba	my uncle girl or my brother wife I like him with closeness
98- F	a relationship with (0.4) like my sister in law or (.) aaa my cousin (.)	

ف: مرات حتى اختي والله (.) متحشمة منها يعني ما يجيش	majzi:ʃ jaʕnj minha mithaʕm awallahi auʕtj hattá marrat	not come no mean her from shy I God by my sister even sometimes
99- F	sometimes even with my sister, I'm serious (.) sometimes I feel reluctant	

ف: نقولها مثلا انا اليوم انا بن (0.5) مثلا بنحط ظنايا	ʕanaja binhut maθalan bin aaa aljawm ʔana maθalan nqu:lilha	my children leave I for example will I aaa today I for example her to say I
100- F	to just say to her: today I will aaa (0.5) for example I will leave my children with you	

ف: عندك والا كذا (0.3) نجي نقول والله انا عندي مشية للمكان الفلاني	ʔalfulanj lilmaka:n maʕja ʕindj ʔana wallahi nqu:l nʕj kaða walla ʕindik	that the place to going I have I God by say I come I so on or you at
101- F	or something like that (0.3) instead I would say I have to go to that place	

ف: و هكي (0.4) و ماني عارفة وين نحط الصغار و هكي نراجي في عرض	ʕardʕ fj nra:ʕj hikkj wa alsʕiyar nhut wai:n ʕa:rfa manj wa hikkj wa	offer of wait I like that and children leave I where know I not and like that and
102- F	and so on (0.4) and I don't know who to leave my children with and so on	

ف: منها تقولي تفضلي والا حاجة فهمتي والا	minha tqu:lj tafadʕalj walla haza fahamtj walla	her from me to say by all means or something or you understood
--	---	--

103- F	and I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means or
--------	--

ف: هاتي هاتي نحطهم عندي (.) علاش اتعبي في روحك والا كذا	kaða walla ru:hik fj ʔittaʃbj ʃala:ʃ ʃindj nhutʃhum hatj hatj	something or yourself of trouble you why me at them put I give give
--	---	---

104- F	leave them leave them I will look after them (.) why you are troubling yourself or
--------	--

ف: خليم عندي و أنا ما عندي ما ندير و فاضية و كذا (.)	kaða wa fadʃja wa ndi:r ma ʃindj ma ʔana wa ʃindj ɣalli:him	so on and free I and do I what I have not I and I have them leave
---	---	---

105- F	something like that leave them with me and I have nothing to do and I am free and
--------	---

ف طبعا من الاول بتقولي لا و ما نبيش نكثر عليك	ʃalaik nkaθar manibbi:ʃ wa la bitqu:lʃ ʔalʔawal min tʃabʃan	you on burden I not want not and no say you will the first from of course
---	---	---

106- F	so on (.) of course at the beginning you would say: no I don't want to trouble you
--------	--

ف: لكن انت عارفة في النهاية انه هو	hu:a ʔinnah annihaja fj ʃa:rfa ʔinti lakin	it it that the end in know you you but
--	--	--

107- F	but you know that at the end it...
--------	------------------------------------

In this example, the participant talked about a situation where indirectness can be used for a polite request. Although what was used to make this request was indirect (line 5 and 6: 'I have to go somewhere (0.4) and I don't know who to leave my children with'), the most accessible interpretation was that of a request to look after the children. In other words, although this utterance has more than one possible illocutionary force: explicit (informative) and implicit (request), the implicit one should be taken up by the addressee in order to be positively evaluated, because such an indirect speech, in fact, is not optional; it is more conventional or routine. It is probably preferable to use indirectness in such situations rather than direct forms, because such requests might be conceived as being serious (lines 3 and 4: 'sometimes I feel reluctant to just say to her: today I will aaa (0.5) for example I will leave my children with you'). Therefore, no actual choices are open to the hearer to misrecognize the request, pretending that it is not present (as Brown and Levinson (1987) argues) if they want to be evaluated positively because, as we have seen, in example (17) above, misrecognition of the

indirect request is highly negatively evaluated. Furthermore, one main aim for using such indirect forms in such situations is for the hearer to transform the request into an offer (line 7 and 8: 'I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means'). As we saw in the previous section, offers are highly preferred actions in Arabic.<sup>185</sup>

Thus, indirectness is not always optional, as some traditional theories (e.g. Leech, 1983) try to present it because, in some situations, even if it opens up different interpretations, only one meaning should be taken up by the addressee, as all other possible interpretations are unacceptable. However, I would go further to argue that people can be evaluated as rude or even *mean* when using indirectness for requests in certain situations in Arabic but, before citing an example, it should be noted that indirectness, as Merkin (2012) argues, cannot be defined only through using an ambiguous linguistic structure whose intended meaning is hidden and takes place only between a speaker and their interlocutor(s). Rather, there are some situations where the intended meaning is conveyed through a third party, whether the linguistic structure used is direct or indirect.<sup>186</sup> The following example (which is taken from the Log Book data) took place between two female participants: Arwa, (25 years old) and her sister in law (her brother's wife) Fatima, (32 years old). Fatima wants to leave her daughter (6 years old) with Arwa and, instead of using the forms that might be evaluated positively (as I have shown above), Fatima chose to make her indirect request through speaking to her daughter as follows (see Appendix F, pp. 204-205):

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<sup>185</sup> It is striking that the participant says that she is waiting for an offer from her interlocutor (I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means), not to understand her request, because indirectness in such a case, as I mentioned, is obvious and has only one acceptable meaning.

<sup>186</sup> More examples, both Arabic and English, will be provided in the next section.

*Example (24)*

بنسال	و	نمشي	لما	شطانة	ماديريش	و	عاقلة	فاطمة: كوني
binasʔal	wa	nimʃj	lamma	ʃtʰa:na	maddiri:ʃ	wa	ʕa:qla	ku:nj
ask I will	and	go I	when	misbehaving	not do you no	and	behaved	be
1- Fatima Behave well and don't trouble your aunt while I am out. I'll ask								

منك	بنغضب	شطانة	درتي	كان	و	بنجي	لما	عمتك
minnik	bnurdʕub	ʃtʰa:na	dirtj	ka:n	wa	binzj	lamma	ʕamtik
you of	angry I will	misbehaving	did you	if	and	back I	when	your aunt
2- your aunt when I come back, and I would be very angry if you misbehaved								

It might be understood from this example that the speaker's request to look after her daughter has already been accepted by the requestee, but in fact Fatima has not even asked Arwa to look after her daughter. Arwa, who was frustrated by Fatima's behaviour, she told me, was unable to challenge or reject it, in order to avoid any problems that might be caused by any possible argument, and she looked after the child without even being asked.

Therefore, Leech's (1983) claim that indirectness necessarily opens options and is consequently polite is inaccurate because, as we have seen in this section, opening options is not always seen as polite, and indirectness does not necessarily open options. In many cases, there is only one acceptable meaning which is taken up by the hearer in order to be positively evaluated. Furthermore, what constitutes indirectness and its functions might differ from one linguistic group to another, so what might be perceived as conventional or routine in certain groups in some situations might be seen as vague and ambiguous in others. Thus, we cannot make generalisations about the concept and interpretation of indirectness across languages. Thus, the functions of indirectness may differ from one situation to another within different cultural groups, and declaring indirectness to be necessarily polite is built on a restricted view, which not only ignores the different functions that indirectness may fulfil in different linguistic groups, but also ignores other functions that it can perform (such as impoliteness).

Thus, in the following section, I will show how indirectness can be used deliberately to cause offence.

Some researchers (House, 2012; Pinker, 2007; Culpeper, 2011), as discussed in chapter 4, argue that indirectness is not necessarily associated with politeness, as suggested by the traditional theories. However, in this research (as I have shown in this section) I would go further and argue that the association between indirectness and opening options, which is also suggested by the traditional theories, is not always accurate. According to the results of this section, it is obvious that the relationship between (in)directness, optionality and politeness is not static; rather, it is dynamic. The results of the Arabic and English data analysis have shown that optionality that is claimed to be provided by indirectness is not always evaluated positively. It might be seen to cause confusion sometimes (for the English informants), or to indicate deliberate request misrecognitions (for the Arab informants).

#### **7.4. Indirectness and Impoliteness**

In this section, I investigate the notion of indirectness and its relation to impoliteness. Apart from a few studies (e.g. Culpeper's, 2011), there is very little work on investigating how indirectness can be used for impoliteness. It might be argued that the reason behind that might be because indirectness is rarely used for such purposes, particularly in English, where indirectness is ideologically associated with politeness, but this is not the case. For example, Culpeper (2011) points out that about 60% of his reported impoliteness events, provided by his English participants, were indirect. Such a number makes it obvious that using indirectness for impoliteness is not rare, as it might be believed, in English. Furthermore, although indirectness can be used for polite purposes in some cultural groups, such as in Libyan Arabic, the overall perception of such a notion can be negative, (as I have shown in

the results I obtained from the Arabic Questionnaire and the Focus Groups), because it is usually linked to impoliteness. The type of indirectness I refer to has been discussed by Culpeper (2011) under the heading ‘implicational impoliteness’ (which I already have discussed in 4.6.). I adopt the terms he suggests in discussing this phenomenon. Although Culpeper provides a very good description of this phenomenon, I would argue that it is far more complicated, at least in Arabic, than has been discussed by him. As I discussed in 4.6., Culpeper classified ‘implicational impoliteness’ into three types of trigger: Form-driven, Convention-driven and Context-driven, each of which I will discuss in this section.

#### **7.4.1. Form driven**

As I discussed in Section 4.6., Culpeper (2011) suggests that this kind of implicature relies on conveying hidden messages intended by the speaker to be impolite. These messages involve some degree of ambiguity and vagueness, so they need some inferential work and cognitive effort on the part of the hearer to interpret the intended meaning. Everyday terms for this kind of phenomena, as Culpeper identifies them, include “insinuation”, ‘innuendo’, ‘casting aspersions’, ‘digs’, ‘snide comments/remarks’, and so on” (Culpeper, 2011: 156). According to the Arabic data I collected, either through the Questionnaire or Naturally Occurring data, it seems that this kind of ‘implicational impoliteness’ is the most commonly used type compared to the other types in Arabic, whereas convention-driven, according to my English data and the examples provided by Culpeper in explaining this phenomenon, seems to be more common among other types in English. In order to explain this phenomenon, I focus on the most common types of this form that can be used in both Arabic and English in order to illustrate the similarities and differences related to using such a strategy in both cultures. According to the data I collected, I classified this form into two main groups: 1- face-to-face offence; and 2- offence through a third party.

#### 7.4.1.1. Face-to-Face Offence

In such cases, the speaker conveys their hidden impolite message while speaking to the person who is intended by the speech. This type can take several forms such as:

##### 1- Personal Criticism:

The speaker sometimes chooses to criticise someone simply to undermine them, not because they say or do things for which they need to be criticised. Culpeper (2011: 159) provides an example that illustrates this meaning as follows:

##### *Example (25)*

Sitting with housemates in the lounge and one comes in after finishing making her tea. she sits close to me and my other housemate within close earshot and says  
'see I made a curry that doesn't come out of a jar'  
Knowing full well that I eat food like that which she clearly looks down upon.

In this example, according to Culpeper, because food that 'comes out of a jar' is seen as inferior to fresh food, and the informant eats non-freshly made food (curries), thus the impolite implication was that the informant eats inferior food. Similar implications can be found in Arabic where the speaker uses them to undermine the hearer as in the following example (which is taken from the Arabic Questionnaire) which is provided by a female informant (29 years old) and took place between her and her sister-in-law (see Questionnaire A-9, p.16):

##### *Example (26)*

غالية	ملابس	لصغاري	نشري	رفضت	الفطر	عيد	في	مرة
ra:lja	malabis	lis'ra:rj	nifrij	rfad'et	?ilfit'er	ʕi:d	fj	marra
expensive	clothes	my children to	buy I	refused I	al Fitr	Eid	in	once
1- Once in Eid al Fitr I refused to buy expensive clothes for my children. One of my sisters in law								

فقلت	حماتي	أحسن	ما	في	نليل	(أخ)	زوجي
faqa:lit	hama:tj	ʔaḥsan	ma	fj	nabi:l	ʔax	zawʒj
so said she	my sister in law	best	of	in	Nabil	brother	my husband

2- said to me 'the best thing about my brother Nabil (another brother, not her interlocutor's

ما يتستخرش	حاجة	في	صغاره	مهما	كانت	غالية
majstaɣserif	ha:ʒa	fj	sʕarah	mahma	ka:net	ra:lja
not lose he no	thing	in	his children	whatever	was it	expensive

3- husband), he always buys nice clothes for his children, no matter how expensive they are'.

تقصدني	أني	على	أساس	نستخر	في	صغاري
tuqsʕudnj	ʔanj	ʕala	ʔasa:s	nistaɣser	fj	sʕa:rj
me mean she	I	on	base	lose I	in	my children

4- She implies I don't see my children are worth such clothes

In this example, given the context knowledge that the informant did not want to buy expensive clothes for her children, the informant can infer the impoliteness implications as follows: in contrast to the speaker's brother, the informant would not spend that amount of money on children's clothes. Not spending money on the children's clothes can be linked to negative values, such as being mean or miserly.

However, there are some situations in Arabic where personal criticism can be used to make requests in an offensive way. The following example, which is taken from the Arabic female Focus Group data, illustrates this point. In this example, one informant, M (32 years old), was talking about one way in which indirectness can be used in Libyan society (see Appendix C, pp. 83-85, lines: 78-89):

### Example (27)

م: هكي	نحن	الليبيين (.)	نتذكر	زمان	كانت	عندنا	كنت
hikkj	nahna	alljbjj:n	nataðakkar	zman	kanit	ʕindna	kunt
like that	we	the Libyans	remember I	ages ago	was	have we	was I

78- M | That is how indirectness is used by Libyans (.) I remember there was... when I was

م: أنا	ندرس	في	مدرسة (0.5)	في	ليبيا	في	البضا (0.5)	كنت	أنا	ندرس
ʔana	ndarris	fj	madirsa	fj	li:bya	fj	albaidʕa	kunt	ʔana	ndarris
I	teach I	in	school	in	Libya	in	Albaida	was I	I	teach I



79- M | teaching at a school (0.5) in Libya in Albaida {Libyan city} (0.5) I was teaching

م: في مدرسة	مديرتها	فيه	واحدة	من	المدرسات	دبشها
fj	mudiri:tha	fi:h	wahda	min	almudarrisat	dbaʃha
in	headmaster its	it in	one	of	the teachers	her clothes

80- M | at a school whose the {female} head teacher didn't like one of the {female} teacher's

م: مش	عاجبها (0.7)	نحن	كنا	نلبسوا	في (0.6)	نلبسوا	طويل	نلبسوا	في
mif	ʕazibha	nahna	kunna	fj nalbsw	fj nalbsw	nalbsw	tʃwi:l	nalbsu:	fj
not	it like she	we	were we	in wear we	in wear we	in wear we	long	wear we	in

81- M | clothes (0.7) we used to wear (0.6) we used to wear modest clothes

م: جاكات	هكي	طوال (0.5)	فيه	واحدة	من	المدرسات (0.7)	الملابس	متاعها
zakkat	hikkj	tʃw:al	fi:h	wahda	min	ʔalmudarisat	ʔalmalabis	mtaʃha
jackets	like	long	in it	one	of	the teachers	the clothes	her

82- M | like long jackets (0.5) one of the {female} teachers' clothes (0.7) were not the type

م: مش	عاجبة	المديرة	مش على	مزاج	المديرة (1)	جت	المديرة
mif	ʕazba	almudi:ra	ʕla mif	mazaʒ	ʔalmudi:ra	zat	almudi:ra
not	the headmaster like	the headmaster	on not	mood	the headmaster	came she	the headmaster

83- M | of clothes the head teacher likes (1) one day the head teacher said

م: أهلا	أبلة (ف)	كيف	حالك	شن	أخبارك	قالتلها	والله	اليوم
ʔahlan	ʔabla	ki:f	ʕalik	ʃin	axbarik	qalitilha	wallahi	aljawm
hello	miss	how	your health	what	your news	her to said she	God by	today

84- M | 'Hello miss (F) how are you how is it going', and then she said to her, 'today

م: في	طابور	الصباح	ماعرفتكش (1.3)	نحسابك	واحدة	من
fj	tʃabu:r	alsʕabah	maʕaraftikif	nahsabik	wahda	min
in	queue	the morning	not you know I no	you thought I	one	of

85- M | in the morning assembly I didn't recognize you among other high school's

م: البنات	متاع	الثانوي
ʔalbanat	mtaʃ	ʔalʕanawj
the girls	of	high school

86- M | {female} students, I thought you were one of them'

ز: اممم	ايه
emmm	ʔaih
emmm	yes

87- Z | Emmm yes

		هذه ((ضحك))	معناها	ف: شن ]
		haði	maʕnaha	ʃin
		this	mean it	what
88- F	What does that mean ((laughter)) [			

		مباشرة	غير	بطريقة	الكلام	فوصلت لها ]
		muba:ʃira	yair	bitaria	?alkala:m	fawasʕlitlha
		direct	not	way with	the speech	her to reached she
89- M	[ Soshe conveyed her message to her in an indirect way					

In this example, the head teacher wanted her interlocutor, whose clothes were similar to those worn by the students, to wear more modest clothes because, according to her, the teachers' clothes in the school should be different from the students' clothes. Thus, instead of asking her directly to do so, the head teacher chose to give her indirect but harsh criticism in front of other teachers (who of course understand the intended meaning) to strengthen her message (see lines 8, 9: 'today, in morning assembly, I didn't recognize you among other high school {female} students, I thought you were one of them'). The teacher interpreted the hidden request and did not wear the same clothes again, according to the informant who mentioned this example. This may show that the effect of indirect impolite messages can sometimes be stronger than direct ones.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>187</sup>See Section 4.5., concerning the debate about whether direct impoliteness is more or less offensive than indirectness.

## 2- Parallel Messages<sup>188</sup>

Another form-driven strategy that can be used, particularly in Libyan-Arabic, is based on conveying two parallel messages; one polite but the other not.<sup>189</sup> To illustrate this, we can consider the following example (which is taken from the Questionnaire data) which took place between a female informant (17 years old), and her aunt (see Questionnaire A-13, p. 21):

### Example (28)

خوي	بنية	عليك	الله	ما شاء	قالتي	عمتي	مرة
xu:j	bnajet	ʕalaik	allah	mashaʔ	qalitlj	ʕamtj	marra
my brother	little girl	you on	God	welling	me to said she	my aunt	once
1- Once my aunt said to me: ‘O little niece, may God bless you,							
	صدمتني	ايدك	زي	مش	مليح	عقلك	
	sʕdmetnj	ʔidaik	zaj	mif	mli:h	ʕaqlik	
	me shocked she	your hands	like	not	brilliant	your brain	
2- your brain is brilliant not your hands’. I was really shocked.							

In this example, there are two messages: one is polite: ‘your brain is brilliant’; and the other is impolite: ‘not your hands’. The aunt’s intended impolite meaning is that the informant is not good at housework, which is well viewed behaviour in Libyan society for girls. Although preceding the criticism with a polite message might be seen as a way to mitigate its impact, the informant’s comment does not seem to support this view, as she said: line 2: ‘I was really shocked’. So, parallel messages can be seen as a way of avoiding arguments, and thus saving the speaker’s face rather than an attempt to mitigate its impact.

<sup>188</sup> This is different from mixed messages, Culpeper, (2011) suggests, which I will explain below. Although the parallel messages I suggest also involve both polite and impolite features, the difference between them is that Culpeper’s notion involves a sense of humour, so it is classified as convention-driven, while my parallel messages, I suggest, do not seem to be used for humour, and so can be categorised as form-driven.

<sup>189</sup> According to mine and Culpeper’s data, it seems that this form of indirect strategies may not be used in English, so no English examples are included.

### 3- Citing Others' Opinions

This strategy relies on conveying what others feel about the hearer. This strategy offers the offender the protection that enables them to deny any impolite intentions. To illustrate this point more clearly, we can consider the following example (from the Log-book data) which took place between two colleagues: Rania and Laila (see Appendix F, p. 203):

#### Example (29)

هلبة	مغرورة	ليلي	قالتلي	صاحبتي	عندي	ليلي	رانيا : تعرفي
halba	marru:ra	lajlā	qa:litlj	s'a:hibtj	ʕindj	lajlā	taʕirfj
too much	arrogant	Laila	me to said	my friend	have I	Laila	know you
1- Rania	Do you know Laila; a friend of mine said to me, Laila is so arrogant.						

ليلي : و	انت	شن	قلتيلها؟
wa	?inti	ʃin	qultil:ha
and	you	what	her to said you
2- Laila	And what did you say to her?		

رانيا : ما قلتلها	شي.
maqultilha	ʃaj
her said I no	thing
3- Rania	I said nothing.

ليلي : و	انت	في	رايك	انا	مغرورة؟
wa	?inti	fj	rajek	?ana	marru:ra
and	you	in	your opinion	I	arrogant
4- Laila	So, do you think I am arrogant?				

رانيا: مش	انا	اللي	قلت.
mif	?ana	?illj	qult
not	I	that	said I
5- Rania	It was not me who said that.		

ليلي: فاهمة	لكن	انت	في	رايك	انا	مغرورة؟
fahma	lakin	?inti	fj	rajek	?ana	marru:ra
I understand	but	you	in	your opinion	I	arrogant
6- Laila	I know, but do you think I am arrogant?					

رانيا: علاش	تسالي	فيا؟	هي	اللي	قالت	مش	انا.
ʕalaʃ	taʔalj	fja	hja	?illj	qa:lit	mif	?ana
why	ask you	me in	she	that	said she	not	I
7- Rania	Why are you asking me? My friend said that, not me.						

As this example clearly illustrates, the offender sent her offensive message through claiming that accusing the hearer of being arrogant is another person's opinion, denying any responsibility for causing offence. Even when the hearer tried to find out whether the speaker shared her friend's opinion, the speaker insisted that she was simply conveying someone else's point of view, and thus she should not be blamed for any offence.

However, the degree of implicitness in causing offence through the 'others' opinion' strategy is dependent on the context. For instance, in the previous example, the speaker conveys what is said about the hearer explicitly and directly, but there are other situations where the speaker uses more ambiguous strategies, as in the following example (which is from the Arabic Questionnaire data) described by a female informant (27 years old) (see Questionnaire A-4, p. 8):

*Example (30)*

لما رجعت لليبيا بعد سنة دراسة برا عشان نشوف هلي	halj	nʃu:f	ʃafa:n	barra	dirasa	sana	baʃd	lili:bya	rʒaʃt	lamma
my family	see I	to	abroad	studying	one year	after	Libya	to	back I	when
1-	I was back Libya after one year studying abroad to see my extended family.									

و طبعا أمي يسكنوا معاها بيت خوي الصغير	ʔalsʕari:r	χu:j	bajt	mʕa:ha	jusknu:	ʔummj	tʕabʕan	wa
the small	my brother	home	her with	live they	my mother	of course	and	
2-	My youngest brother and his wife live with my mother at her home							

فلما جيت نزور في أمي قالت لي مرة خوي قلت	qult	χu:j	mart	lj	qa:lit	ʔummj	fj	nzu:r	zait	falamma
said I	my brother	wife	me to	said she	my mother	in	visit I	came I	when	
3-	When I visited my mother, my sister in law said to me, when I said to your brother									

لخوك نبي نكمل دراستي قاللي هذا اللي مازال	maza:l	ʔillj	haða	qa:llj	dera:stj	nkammal	nibbj	lixu:k
still	that	this	me to	said he	my study	complete I	want I	your brother to
4-	I want to study abroad he said what on earth are you saying that for,							

نعرف	اللي	يديرها	حاكمة	فيه	مرته	فوجعتني	منها
naʕruf	ʔillj	jadi:rha	ha:kma	fi:h	martah	fawuʒʕitnj	minha
know I	whoever	it do	controlled	him of	his wife	me hurt it	her of
5- whoever allows his wife to study abroad is controlled by her. I was really hurt							

لأن	طبعاً	هذه	مش	وجهة	نظر	خوي	أبداً	لأنه	كان
liʔanna	haðih tʕabaʕan	mif	wizhat	naðʕar	χu:j	ʔabadan	liʔannah	ka:n	was he
because	this of course	not	point	view	my brother	never	him because		
6- because, of course, this is not my brother's view at all. He has always encouraged me									

ديمة	يشجع	فيا	فحسيتها	تقصدني	لأنها	ماحصلتش
di:ma	juʕʒʒaʕ	fi:a	fahassi:tha	tuqsʕudnj	liʔannah	mahasʕlitiʕ
he always	encourage	me of	her felt I	me mean she	her because	not get she no
7- so I felt she means me because she hasn't had an opportunity to study abroad						

تقرأ	برا	فتبي	تقلل	من	شاني	و	من	شان	قرايتي
taqra	barra	fatibbj	tuqallil	min	sa:nj	wa	min	ʕa:n	qrajtj
study	abroad	want she	lessen	of	my value	and	of	value	my study
8- so she just wants to undermine me.									

The speaker in this example used two strategies: generalisation<sup>190</sup> and other's opinion. Unlike the previous example, where the speaker is more direct, the speaker's strategy here is more implicit. For example, the speaker did not clearly illustrate that the informant was intended by her speech; instead, she used a generalisation, that: line 5: 'whoever allows his wife to study abroad is controlled by her', which implicitly included the informant herself who was already studying abroad. However, in order to save her face, the speaker claimed that it was her husband's (the informant's brother) view, not hers, so she cannot be blamed. However, the informant pointed out that this was not her brother's view, because he has always encouraged her (see line 6), so, that was her sister-in-law's opinion, not his.

<sup>190</sup> Further explanation about this strategy will be provided below.

#### 7.4.1.2. Offence through a Third Party

There are some situations, either in Arabic or English, where the offender does not have any direct interaction with the targeted person; instead, he/she chooses to convey the impolite message indirectly through an addressee (a third party) to the targeted person. This can take several forms as follows:

##### 1- Exclusion

In this strategy, the speaker uses a third party to make the target feel neglected or excluded.

Culpeper (2011: 160) mentioned an example which can illustrate this point:

##### *Example (31)*

As I walked over to the table to collect the glasses, Sarah said to Tim ‘Come on Tim let’s go outside’ implying she didn’t want me there. This was at the pub on Sunday night, and I just let the glasses go and walked away.

Culpeper explained that the impolite implication which was drawn by the informant in this example was that she felt excluded, as illustrated by her moving away. Thus, impolite implications did not necessarily entail criticism in order to be taken as offence. Ignoring the presence of others can also be evaluated negatively. Similar examples can be found in Arabic where the target is offended through exclusion, as in the following Arabic example (taken from the Questionnaire data), where a female informant (28 years old) mentioned an exchange which took place between her sister and sister-in-law in her presence (see Questionnaire A-23, p. 34):

##### *Example (32)*

مرة	أنا	و	أختي	كنا	مقعمزين	في	الصالة	شوية	مرة	خوي	اللي
ʔillj			ʔuxtj	wa ʔana	marra		ʔilsʕa:la	fj mqaʕimzi:n	kunna	mart	ʃwaja
who	my	brother	wife	then	the	lounge	in	sitting	we	were	my
1-	One	day	my	sister	and	I	were	in	the	lounge	when
											our
											sister
											in
											law,
											who
											lives

ساكنة	بجينا	خشت	علينا	و	قالت	لأختي	"اليوم	عازمة	علي
sa:kna	bzanbna	χaffit	ʕalaina	wa	qa:lit	liʔuxɬj	ʔalju:m	ʕa:zma	ʕala
living	us beside	entered she	and us on		to said she	my sister	today	on inviting	
2- next door to our house, came in and said to my sister 'Huda, I invited some									

أبلاّت	معاي	في	المدرسة،	تعالى	هدى	تغدي	معانا"	طبعاً	أختي
ʔabla:t	mʕa:j	fj	ʔilmadrsa	tʕa:lj	huda	traddj	mʕana	tʕabʕan	ʔuxɬj
teachers	me with	in	the school	come	Huda	have	with	of course	My sister
3- colleagues to my home today come with me and have lunch with us'. My sister of course									

رفضت	لأنها	شافتها	اهانة	ليا.	ماصح	وجهها
rufdʕut	liʔanha	ʕa:fitha	ʔihana	lja	masʕah	wazahah
refused	her because	saw she	insult it	me to	strong how	her face
4- refused her offer because it was an insult to me. How mean she is.						

As this example illustrates, the informant assumed that, while the addressee was her sister, she herself was the target, something which seems to be supported by the informant's claim that: lines 3-4, 'my sister of course refused her offer because it was an insult to me, how mean she is'. Thus, the implication which was drawn by the informant was that inviting the informant's sister for lunch entails deliberate neglect by the speaker; in other words, she was being excluded.

## 2- Speaking within Earshot of the Target

There are some situations where the offender deliberately speaks to a third party in earshot of the targeted person to convey an impolite message. The following English example (from the Questionnaire data), which was described by a female informant (23 years old) illustrates this point (see Questionnaire B-4, p. 44):

### Example (33)

A lady was complaining to a stranger about me + my family, whilst we could hear. If she had a problem with what we were doing she should have spoken to us, not let us know by speaking within earshot of us.



Thus, instead of speaking directly to the informant and her family in this example, the offender chose to convey her offensive message through a third person which can avoid possible arguments with the informant. However, the informant seems to prefer more direct forms, as she pointed out 'if she had a problem with what we were doing she should have spoken to us'. Thus, indirect forms are not always the preferred forms of speech, even when they are used for criticism. Such situations can also be found in Arabic as in the following Arabic example (from the Questionnaire data) which was described by a female informant (33 years old) (see Questionnaire A-5, p. 9):

**Example (34)**

مرة	كنت	في	عزومة	غدي	و	كنت	حامل	و	عادة	لما
Lamma	ʕa:dan	wa	ha:mil	kunt	wa	ʔdai	ʕazu:ma	fj	kunt	marra
when	usually	and	pregnant	was I	and	lunch	invitation	in	was I	once
1-	One day, while I was pregnant I was invited to a wedding banquet									

نكون	حامل	ناكل	برا	البيت	أكثر	من	أكلي	بالبيت
nku:n	ha:mil	na:kil	barra	ʔalbait	ʔakθar	min	ʔaklj	bilbait
be I	pregnant	eat I	out	the home	more	from	my eating	the home
2-	Usually when I am pregnant, I eat more at other							

فالاكل	كان	طيب	فالبين	أني	انسجت	في	الأكل	فوحدة
faʔalʔakel	ka:n	tʕajeb	faʔilbajen	ʔinnj	ʔinsazamit	fj.	ʔilʔakil	fawahda
the food	was	delicious	it seem	that	I interested	in	the eating	someone
3-	people's homes than at mine. Because the food was delicious, I did not notice							

كانت	معانا	علي	القعد	همزت	صاحبها	و	قالت	ما تبصري	بكل
kanit	maʕana	ʕala	ʔalqaʕd	hamzat	sʕahbitha	wa	qa:lit	matbasʕrj	bukkul
was she	on	us	the plate	point she	and her friend		said she	never not joking	
4-	that I ate so much at that day, so one of the ladies who was sitting next to me								

و في نفس	الوقت	أنا	رفعت	عيني	صاحبها	كانت	تشوف	فيا
nafs	fj	ʔana	ʔilawaqit	rfaʕt	ʕainj	sʕa:hbitha	ka:nit	tʕu:f
same	in	I	the time	my eye	her friend	was she	look she	me of
5-	said to her friend "you are not joking at all". When I looked up, her friend was looking							

وتضحك	كانت	تقصدني	أني	ناكل.	وجعتني	منها	وتحشمت	بكل
tadʕhak	ka:nt	tuqʕudnj	ʔanj	na:kil	wezʕitnj	minha	thafimt	bukkul
laugh she	was she	me mean	I	eat I	me hurt it	her of	embarrassed I	a lot
6-	at me and laughing, so I knew she means I ate too much. I felt really embarrassed and							

	بنيتي bnjtj my intention	ياخذها jaxidha her take he	ربي rabbj my Lord
7-	hurt. May God take revenge on her for me.		

Unlike the above English example (31), where the offender used direct forms in sending her ‘within-earshot’ message. In this Arabic example, the offender used more implicit forms in conveying her message through a third party. The message that the speaker wanted to convey was that ‘you eat so much’, and thus ‘you are greedy’. Obviously, the informant assumed that, while the addressee was another person, the target was herself, something which seems to be supported by the informant saying: line 5, ‘when I looked up, her friend was looking at me and laughing’. It should be noted that the phrase ‘you are not joking at all **ما تبصري بكل**’ is a conventionalised ironic expression which is usually used in Libyan-Arabic to mock someone who is doing something to excess (such as eating too much, speaking too loudly, and so on). However, it is not supposed to be heard by the target. Thus, saying it within earshot of the informant causes significant offence to her (see line: 7).

Thus, in Arabic, as I mentioned above, there are some forms of speech (which are considered to be indirect) that do not leave interpretation open to negotiation, because such forms’ meanings are conventionalised to be accessible and understandable. One way of using such indirect forms for criticism in Libyan Arabic is generalising meanings, which will now be discussed.

### 3- Generalizing Meanings تعميم المعنى (Signifying)

Generalising speech, or what Morgan (1996) labels ‘baited indirectness’, which she suggests happens “when a speaker attributes a feature to someone which may or may not be true” (1996: 406), is a strategy that is commonly used in Libyan-Arabic. It is when general

statements are used to criticise someone, rather than specific criticism. However, this strategy, according to the data I collected and the examples Culpeper (2011) mentioned, does not seem to be used in English. It is more a conventionalised way of giving offence in Libyan-Arabic. There are many different ways of using this strategy: one way is when the speaker includes themselves when attributing a feature to someone, such as in the following Arabic example (from the Questionnaire data), where the male informant (34 years old) referred to a dialogue which took place between himself and a classmate in the presence of five other Libyan friends at Sheffield University (see Questionnaire A-18, p. 26):

*Example (35)*

الشخص	كان	في	ليبيا	و	قعد	حوالي	شهر	ثم	عاد	فسألته
ʔaʃʃaxs <sup>ʕ</sup>	ka:n	fj	li:bja	wa	qʕad	ħawalj	ʃahr	θumma	ʕa:d	fasʔaltah
the person	in	Libya	and	stayed	about	a month	then	back	him ask I	
1-	A classmate had been to Libya for a month and then came back. I asked him									

عن	حال	ليبيا	من	جميع	النواحي,	فقال	البلاد	مئة	مئة
ʕan	ħa:l	min li:bja	zami:ʕ	ʔannawa:hj	ʔafa:llj	ʔalbla:d	mja	mja	mja
about	condition	from Libya	all	the sides	he said	me to	country	hundred	hundred
2-	about Libya <sup>191</sup> , he said it was very good.								

فسألته	عن	محاصرة	بعض	الوزارات	فقلت	له	هذا	غير	لائق
ʕan fasʔaltah	ʕan	mħa:s <sup>ʕ</sup> ra	baʕd <sup>ʕ</sup>	ʔalwaza:ra:t	faqult	lah	hada	rair	la:ʔiq
him asked I	about	surrounding	some	the ministries	said I	him to	this	not	acceptable
3-	Then I asked him about surrounding some ministries buildings by some armed groups								
4-	and said this is unacceptable								

يعني	مشكلة,	فقال لي	هذا	أحسن	شي هكي	الحرية	و	لو	ماتجيش
jaʕnj	mufkla	ʔafa:llj	ħaða	ʔaħsan	ʃaj	ħikkj	wa	law	ma:tzi:f
mean	problem	he said	this	best	thing	the freedom	and	if	not come
4-	and can cause problems, he said 'no, what happened was good, this is freedom, if we								

تجي	بالسلاح.	فقلت	و	أنا	أنظر	للحاضرين	نحن	الليبيين
tʒj	bissla:h	faqult	wa	ʔana	ʔanð <sup>ʕ</sup> ur	lilħa:d <sup>ʕ</sup> ri:n	nahna	ʔalli:bji:n
come it	weapons with	said I	and	I	look I	the others	we	the Libyans

<sup>191</sup>Asking about his country after the Libyan Revolution (2011) as armed groups were everywhere, so the situation might be dangerous.

5-	can't take our rights peacefully, we will use weapons'. So I said, while looking at the
----	---

فاهمين	الحرية	بالعكس.	أنا	أقصده	هو	انه	فاهم	الحرية
fa:hmi:n	?alhurri:a	bilʕaks	?ana	?aqsdah	hwa	?innah	fa:him	?alhurri:a
understand	the freedom	opposite	I	mean	he	that	understanding	the freedom
6-	others: 'we Libyans have a wrong understanding of the meaning of freedom'.							

بالعكس	لتجنب	احراجة	فعممت	عدم	الفهم	لنا	كلنا
bilʕaks	litazannub	?ihra:ʒah	faʕamamet	ʕadam	?alfahm	lana	kulna
the opposite	avoid to	him embarrassing	I generalised	not	us to understanding	us	us all
7-	I actually meant him by my speech, but I wanted to avoid embarrassing him, so I used a						
8-	generalisation to include all of us.						

As this example illustrates, the speaker attributed the feature of 'having a wrong understanding of what constitutes freedom' to the target while including himself and the others present in order, according to him, to avoid embarrassing the target and also to avoid possible arguments with him.

Another form that can be used through the generalisation strategy is when the speaker attributes a feature that is strongly linked to someone from previous experience and believed to be true about them. To illustrate this, we can consider the following Arabic example (from the Recorded Data), where the informant spoke an incident which took place between two of her sisters-in-law (see Appendix F, pp. 198-199):

### Example (36)

زمان	سلفتي (1)	فهمتي	دارت	عجنت	عجينة	بيتسا
zama:n	salftj	fhamtj	darit	ʕaʒnit	ʕaʒi:nat	bitsa
ages ago	my sister in law	understand	did she	kneaded she	dough	pizza
1-	One day, my sister in law (1) OK, did she made pizza dough aaa					

ما جتهاش	قنينة	مشي	اليوم	اللي	بعده	عزوزتي	قالت	اعجنوا
mazitha:f	qnainah	mʕai	?alju:m	?illj	baʕdah	ʕazu:ztj	qa:lit	?aʕʒnw
not came it no	nice	so	the day	that	after	my mother in law	said	knead
2-	and it wasn't very good ((laughter)) the next day my mother in law said aa said to us							

	ديروا	خبزة	فرن (.)	عجنتها	حماتي	ودارتها (0.8)	دارتها
	di:rw	χubzit	furn	ʕignitha	hama:tj	da:ritha	da:ritha
	do	bread	oven	it knead she	my sister in law	it did she	it did she
3-	make makethe bread dough (.)my sister in law (her husband's sister) kneaded it and						
4-	made it (0.8) made it						

	عبتها	بالسكر (.)	لما	جت	عزوزتي	بت	بتديرها
	ʕabbitha	bissukkur	lamma	zit	ʕazu:ztj	bit	biddi:rha
	it full she	sugar with	when	came she	my mother in law	will	it do she
5-	and put lots of sugar in it (.) when my mother in law wanted to bake it ((not clear))						

	قالت	هده	شني	خيركم	شن	درتولها (.)	قالتلها	حماتي
	qa:lit	hadj	ʕnj	χairkum	ʕin	dirtu:lha	qa:litolha	hamatj
	said she	this	what	you what	what	it to did you	her to said she	my sister in law
6-	she said what is this what's wrong with you (for all) what did you do to it (.) her							

	درتلها	السكر	قالتلها	و	علاش	قالتلها (.)	باش	تجيني	ناشطة
	dirtilha	sukkar	qa:litolha	wa	ʕala:ʕ	qa:litolha	ba:ʕ	tʕjnʕ	na:ʕt'a
	it to did I	the sugar	her to said she	and	why	her to said she	to	me come it	nice
7-	daughter said I added sugar to it. She said why. She said (.) because I wanted it to be nice								

	وحلوة	مش زي	متاعة	البيرات	البيرات	تجيهم	العجينة	مش	باهية
	hilwa	zai	mta:ʕit	ʕilba:jra:t	ʕilba:jra:t	tʕi:hum	ʔalʕazi:na	miʕ	ba:hia
	delicious	as	of	the unskilled	the unskilled	them come it	the dough	not	good
8-	and delicious not like dough which is made by unskilled people (.) only unskilled								
9-	people's dough is not good.								

The speaker's strategy in this example relies on generalisations; that is, no names were mentioned, but an implied reference to a certain behaviour of the target (lines 1 and 2: 'she made pizza dough and it wasn't very good') is enough for her to be guided to the intended meaning. The speaker's goal in using this strategy, then, does not seem to mitigate the impact of the offence; rather, she achieved at least three goals through using this strategy:

1- It allows deniability: It is difficult for the target in such a case to retaliate or defend him/herself, because the offender will simply deny any offensive intention and suppose that the target should not assume that this speech means her, because there is no obvious evidence to support such an assumption. That enables her to attack the hearer with less fear of retribution.

2- Changing the focus: In order to move the focus to her fault (adding sugar to the bread dough), the speaker implicitly draws attention to another fault of the target, which seems to be known by all present, to avoid being blamed.

3- Using offensive words: This strategy also provided the speaker with protection when using highly offensive words (line 8: 'unskilled people') without suffering retaliation from the offender, or being blamed by others present for using direct, clearly offensive words.

A similar example (from the Log Book data) which can illustrate the generalisation strategy took place between two female relatives: Dania (my informant, 38 years old) and her relative Salwa (40 years old), as follows (see Appendix F, p. 205):

*Example (37)*

كنت	جاية	من	بريطانيا	و	جتتي	بنت	خالي	فنهدرزوا
kunt	za:ja	min	bri:t'anja	wa	zitnj	bint	xalj	fanhadirzu:
I was	I coming	from	Britain	and	me came	daughter	uncle	we talk
1- When I came back Libya from Britain, my cousin came to see me. We were talking								

علي	اللبس	مشي	قالت	لي:	شكله	في	بريطانيا	مافيش	لبس	حلو
ʕala	ʔallibis	mʕaj	qa:lit	lj	ʃaklah	fj	bri:t'anja	mafi:f	libis	hilw
about	clothes	then	said she	me to	it seem	in	Britain	not	nice clothes	
2 about clothes when she said to me: it seems that children's clothes are not nice in Britain.										

للصغار	فاستنتجت	إن	ذوقي	في	لبس	صغاري	مش	عاجبها
liS'ra:r	fastantagt	ʔinna	du:qj	fj	libis	s'ra:rj	mif	ʕa:ʒibha
children to	concluded I	that	my taste	in	clothes	my children	not	it like she
3 I concluded that she did not like my taste in choosing my children's clothes.								

In this example, it was not difficult for the hearer, as she told me, to interpret that the speaker was referring to her taste, rather than the clothes themselves. The judgement of the hearer's relative regarding English children's clothes was based on her assessment of the clothes of

the hearer's children, as she implied that she did not like these clothes and thus the target's taste was poor.

#### 4- Using Idioms

According to my data, there are some situations mentioned by some of my Arab informants where certain idioms are used as an indirect tool to guide the hearer(s) to certain meanings.

There are two main cases mentioned by the informants: the first when a speaker uses an idiom to speak to a group of people but in fact intends to refer only to one person; and the second when a speaker speaks to a certain person but intends to refer to a group of people.

The following example (from the Arabic Questionnaire data) was mentioned by a female informant (40 years old) to explain what happened between her mother-in-law and her son (see Questionnaire A-3, p. 6):

#### Example (38)

مره	ولدي	عمره	11	سنة	يحب	يقعد	مع	جدته	ام	ابوه
marra	wildj	ʕumrah	11	sana	juhib	juqʕed	maʕa	zadatuh	ʔum	ʔabu:h
once	my son	his age	11	years	he like	stay he	with	his grand ma	mother	his father
1-	My son (11 years old) likes spending time with my husband's family									

و	عماته	فمره	كانوا	يحكوا	علي	امور	شخصيه	تهمهم	و	لما
wa	ʕammatah	famarra	kanw	jahkw	ʕala	ʔumu:r	ʕaxsʕja	thimhum	lamma	wa
and	his aunts	once	were	they speak	on	special things	concern	when	and	when
2-	(his grandmother and aunts). One day, while they were talking about personal things									

انتبهوا	ان	ولدي	جالس	معهم	و	يسمع	قالت	جدته	بالحرف
ʔintabhw	ʔinna	wildj	za:lis	mʕa:hum	wa	jesmaʕ	qa:lit	zadatah	bilharf
that realise they	my son	sitting	with	and	hear	said	his grandma	the letter	the letter
3-	his grandmother said literally to her daughters: 'there is a dog in the sea'.								

الواحد	- البحر	فيه	كلب -	بمعني	ان	فيه	حد	مش	لازم	يسمع	الكلام
ʔalwa:hid	ʔalbahr	fi:h	kalib	bimaʕnà	ʔinna	fi:h	had	mif	la:zim	jesmaʕ	ʔalkala:m
the one	the sea	it in	dog	mean	that	one	it in	not	necessary	hear	the speech
4-	This means that there is someone who should hear what they are saying.										

اللي	نقولوا	فيه	و	طبعاً	ولدي	ذكي	وجعته	من	العباره	اللي
ʔillj	ʔalfiba:ra	min	wizʕatah	ðakj	weldj	tʕabʕan	wa	fi:h	nqu:lw	ʔillj
that	the phrase	from	him	hurt	clever	my son	of course	and	it of	say we that
5-Of course my son is smart, so he knew that he was intended by his grandmother's utterance										

قالتها	و	جاني	تاني	يوم	بيكي	و	قالي	جدتي	تحسابني
qa:litha	wa	ʒa:nj	tanj	ju:m	jabkj	wa	qa:llj	ʒadatj	tahsa:bnj
me	think	she	my	grandma	me	to	said	he	and
6-	cry he day next came he and it said								
When he came back home, my son started crying and said to me 'my grandma thought									

مانفهم	شن	تقصد	حتي	و	اني	ما	كنت	مركز	عليش	يهدروا
manifhim	ʃin	tuqsʕud	hattà	wa	ʔanj	ma	kunt	mrakkez	ʕlajʃ	jhaderzw
speaking	they	why	concentrate	was	not	I	and	even	mean	she
what understand not										
7- I did not understand what she meant. I did not even know what they were talking about,										

لكن	لما	قالت	البحر	فيه	كلب	فهمت	اني	مش	لازم	انكون
lakin	lamma	qa:lit	ʔalbahʕ	fi:h	kalib	fhamit	ʔinnj	mif	la:zim	ʔinku:n
be	I	necessary	not	I	understood	I	dog	it	in	the
sea said she when but										
8- but when she said 'there is a dog in the sea', I understood that										

معاهم	في	هدر زتهم	و	مفروض	نطلع.	ياالله	ربي	يسامحهم
mʕa:hum	fj	haderzithum	wa	mafru:dʕ	natʕlaʕ	jalla	rabbj	jsa:mahhum
them	forgive	my	lord	God	out	I	should	I
and their speech in them with								
9- I should've not been with them and I should've gone out". May God forgive them								

The idiom used in this example: line 4, 'there is a dog in the sea' is usually used to warn other participants that someone is eavesdropping on their conversation. Such an idiom is not supposed to be said within earshot of the target, but because the target is young (11 years old), the speaker may have assumed that he would not understand her meaning, and thus would not be offended. However, according to the informant, this child was intelligent enough to interpret the intended meaning and thus was hurt by it.

The second case mentioned by the Arab informants was when a speaker speaks to a certain person and means a group of people, as in the following example (from the Arabic Questionnaire data) which was mentioned by a female informant (30 years old) (see Questionnaire A-1, p. 3):



### Example (39)

كانت	قريبة	لي	تبذل	مجهودا	في	عرس	ما	و	أهل	العريس	نفسه
nafsah	ʔalʕari:s	ʔahl	wa	ma	ʕers	fj	mazhu:dan	tabðul	lj	qa:ri:ba	ka:nit
it same	the groom	family and	one wedding	in	effort	do	me	to	relative	was	she
1-	In a wedding party, a relative of mine was making a great effort which has not even										

لا	يبدلون	الجهد	نفسه	و	لديها	أطفال	و	كنا	جالسين	معا	و
wa	maʕan	ʕalisi:n	kunna	wa	ʔatʕfa:l	ladi:ha	wa	nafsah	ʔalzuhd	jabðulu:n	la
and together	sitting	were	and children	has she	and	it same	the effort	do	they	no	
2-	been exerted by the groom's family themselves, and she has children who need to be										

معنا	جمع	من	النسوة	فقلت	لها	يا	فلانة	هل	الميت	صبروا
sʕubrw	ʔalmajet	hal	fulana	ja	laha	faqult	ʔanniswa	min	zamʕ	maʕana
patient	the dead	family	you	o	her	to said	I	the women	of	gathering
3-	looked after. When we all were sitting together and there were other women sitting with									
4-	us I said: listen you (saying her name) 'the deceased's family accepts									

و	المعزين	كفروا.
wa	ʔalʕazji:n	kufrw
and	the mourners	disbelieved
5-	his death, while the mourners don't'. <sup>192</sup>	

In this example, while the addressee was one person, the target was a group of people. The idiom 'the deceased's family accepts his death, while the mourners don't',<sup>193</sup> is usually used to refer to situations where someone exaggerates their feelings about something, giving importance to certain things or making an extra effort to do something. In this example, the informant's addressee made more effort at the wedding party than the groom's family themselves, who were supposed to make that effort, due to their close relationship to the groom. Thus, using this idiom in front of the groom's family, as well as other guests, enabled the speaker to convey harsh criticism to this family.

<sup>192</sup> This is a proverb that can be used on any occasion in a similar situation. Thus, although this is a wedding party, this saying is suitable for this context.

<sup>193</sup> Those people who come to sympathise with the deceased's family.

So far, I have discussed one type of implicational impoliteness, which is ‘Form-driven’, which can be used to convey impolite messages indirectly. In the following section, the ‘Convention-driven’ type of implicational impoliteness will be discussed.

#### **7.4.2. Convention-driven**

With regard to this type of implicational impoliteness, as I discussed in Section 4.6., Culpeper (2011: 165) includes in his discussion the following terms: “‘sarcasm’, ‘teasing’, and some labels for humour, such as ‘[harsh/bitter] jokes/humour’”. Culpeper (2011) argues that these terms tend to involve mixed messages: one points towards a polite feature and the other towards an impolite one. As I mentioned in Section 4.7., he classified mixed messages into two main types: the first when there is an internal mismatch [e.g. “can you just fuck off” (Culpeper, 2011: 166)]; and the second, when there is an external mismatch, as in the following English example (from the Questionnaire data) which took place between my male informant (42) and his supervisor many years ago (see Questionnaire B-12, p. 62):

#### ***Example (40)***

My PhD supervisor to me, many years ago, commenting on a chapter of my thesis: “Very good, Sam, very good”. For a moment, indeed, I actually believed it.” This was indirectness, possibly touched with sarcasm.

In this example, ‘very good’ is a conventionalised politeness formula associated with good work which was the first interpretation which came to the informant’s mind: ‘For a moment, indeed, I actually believed it’. However, it seems that it constitutes an external mismatch, probably triggering a sarcastic interpretation, as the informant pointed out ‘This was indirectness, possibly touched with sarcasm’. Thus, the informant’s work was not actually very good. Such interpretations, which are triggered through mismatching, as Culpeper

(2011) argues, are more difficult to infer than those which are triggered through matching, so they need more cognitive effort to resolve.

Similarly, such mismatched interpretations can also be found in Arabic data. The following Arabic example (from the Recorded data) illustrates this point. This conversation was between two sisters in a family setting: Reem (28 years old) and Dalia (34 years old), while talking about a woman called Nawal (see Appendix F, p. 200):

*Example (41)*

		داليا: تعرفي (نوال) قرت للخامس بس ] Bes lilxamis gret (nawal) taʕrfi Only the fifth to studied (Nawal) know you
1- Dalia	you know (Nawal) studied only:: up to year five [	
		] ((ضجة في الخلفية)) ]
2-	[ ((noise in the background)) [	
		ريم: ما شاء الله ((ضحك)) ] Allah mafa God wills
3- Reem	[ God bless he::r ((laughter))	

In this example, the conventionalised polite item ‘God bless her’, which can be translated into English as ‘how brilliant she is’ here, was recontextualised to contrast with its intended meaning. In other words, studying up to year five only is not something that is actually appreciated; rather it can be associated with negative values, such as being unskilful or uneducated. Thus, it is sarcastically maximising the contrast between the context projected by

the conventionalised polite formula ‘God bless her’, and the current context ‘Nawal studied only up to year five’.

A similar example took place during the Focus Group discussion for the female Libyan informants, as follows (see Appendix C, pp. 101-102, lines: 203-205):

*Example (42)*

س: مثلاً أنا زمان صارلي موقف مع صاحبتني يعني فهمتي (.)	fahamtj jaʃnj sʰahibtj maʃa mawqi f sʰa:rlj zaman ʔana maθalan
understood mean my friend with event me to happened once I for example	
203- S	For example, the other day a friend of mine I mean

س: من النوع اللي ديمة تلقح في الدوة يعني ت تجرح فيا ]	fi:a tazrah t jaʃnj addu:a fj tlaqqah di:ma ʔillj annu:ʃ min
me in hurt she sh mean meaning in use she always that the kind of	
204- S	right she is the kind of person who always ‘uses meanings’ <sup>194</sup> I mean she hurts me [

ز: ونعم الصحاب	alsʰa:b waniʃma
friends good	
205- Z	how good a friend she is

((ضحك))
((Laughter))

In this example, the conventionalised polite utterance (how good a friend she is) contrasts with the actual meaning. Due to the offence and hurt caused by this ‘friend’, she should be perceived as a bad friend. Thus, this example maximises the contrast between the context projected by the conventionalised polite utterance ‘how good a friend she is’ and the current context (she is the kind of person who always ‘makes meanings’. I mean she hurts me).

<sup>194</sup>‘Using meanings’ or ‘making meanings’ is an expression used by Libyan people to refer to using hints to offend others or send impolite messages.

Due to the fact that “an interpretation triggered through mismatching is more implicit and involves more inferencing than one triggered through matching” (Culpeper, 2011: 167), there are some situations where the interlocutor does not succeed in interpreting the intended meaning. Let us consider the following English example (from the Questionnaire), which was mentioned by a female informant (38 years old), to illustrate that (see Questionnaire B-6, p. 47):

*Example (43)*

I was sitting in a café (in France) the other day and a grandfather trying to get past with his grandchild in a pram said “Can't you move your chair?” in what I thought was an aggressive way (I had my back to him so hadn't seen him). I replied sarcastically “yes of course, seeing as you asked so nicely!”. He sat down near us and a few minutes later our children / grandchildren were playing together and he was smiling at us and being friendly. I think he didn't think that he had been impolite so for him there was no problem and perhaps he hadn't understood my British sarcasm so wasn't angry at me.

Of course, in such intercultural contexts, misunderstandings can be expected. However, misinterpreting the intended meaning in the above example is not necessarily related to the different cultural background of the interlocutors because, as we have seen in Example (39) above, misinterpretation may occur even among people who belong to the same language group. Thus, such sarcasm is not specific to an English context. To illustrate this point, we can consider the following example (from the Log-book data) which took place between my English driving instructor and myself when we were driving past a group of road workers. Of about five workers, there was only one digging the road, while the others stood about, chatting and laughing, so I initiated a conversation as follows (see Appendix, G, p. 208):

*Example (44)*

Me: How hard they are working! ((laughter))

The instructor: Yes, they are ((laughter))

The utterance ‘how hard they are working’ was an indication of the effort that was made by the workers at the moment of saying it. However, this mismatches the current context, where the workers in fact were not even working. So, there was an external mismatch, which was correctly interpreted by the addressee as sarcasm, something which seems to be supported by the laughter of both interlocutors.

However, there is a form of convention-driven implication (which is not mentioned by Culpeper, 2011),<sup>195</sup> where the offender uses a conventionalised impoliteness formula and cover its offence with a joke or humour. In other words, when there is a match between the context projected by the conventionalised formula and the wider context, but it is masked with a joke, as in the following Arabic example (from the Log-book Data). This example took place between three individuals at breakfast time: Asma (29 years old), Mariam (62 years old) her mother-in-law, and Salem (65 years old) her father-in-law. Asma left her baby (1 year old) with her parents, who live in another town in Libya, for a month. When she went to fetch him back, the following dialogue took place between those involved (see Appendix, F, p. 204):

**Example (45)**

		مریم: ولدك	ضاعف	ضاعف	لن	خلاص
		wildik	d <sup>ʕ</sup> a:ʕuf	d <sup>ʕ</sup> a:ʕuf	lin	ʒalas <sup>ʕ</sup>
		your son	thin	thin	too	much
1- Mother-in-law	Your son became really really thin					
		اسماء: أكيد نسيتي كيف كان كان اضعف من هكي هلبة توا احسن من قبل	كيف	كان	كان	اضعف
		ʔaki:d	nsaitj	ka:n	ka:n	ʔad <sup>ʕ</sup> ʕuf
		surely	forgot	was	was	this
		you	he	used	to be,	he
		was	much	thinner	than	now
2- Asma	You may've forgotten how he used to be, he was much thinner than now					

<sup>195</sup>This might be because this type is not commonly used in English.

حتى	بنتك	قالتلي	ما شاء	الله	عليه	توا	خير	من	قبل
hattà	bintik	qa:litlj	maʃa:ʔ	ʔallah	ʕaljah	tawa	ħajr	min	qabel
even	your daughter	me to said she	welling	Allah	him on	now	better	from	before
3- he is much better now than before, even your daughter said to me he is much better now.									

سالم: كول	كول	ولدي	هذا	حوش	جدك	مخليينك	جيغان
ku:l	ku:l	wildj	hada	ħu:f	ziddik	mχallji:nik	zi:ʕa:n
eat	eat	my son	this	home	your grandparents	leave they	hungry
4- Father-in-law (to the baby):eat eat my son, your grandparents (his daughter-in-law's							
5- parents) seem to leave you hungry							

It should be noted before analysing this example that, in Libyan society, it is very important for the baby's mother, in particular, to look after her child. One way of showing this is through making sure that the baby is in good health. A thin baby is regarded as one who is not being given a priority by its mother, and thus she would be seen as a bad mother. In this example, Mariam implicitly conveyed harsh criticism of Asma's parents, who had looked after her baby for a month, by claiming that the baby had become thin to show that her parents did not look after the baby well. In such cases, the addressee can be offended through criticising someone related to them (a member of their family, a friend, and so on) instead of criticising them directly. Asma understood her mother-in-law's hint, so she tried to confirm that her baby appeared to be much better than before and supported her claim by mentioning that her sister-in-law said that the baby was even heavier than before, in order to show that her parents had looked after the baby very well. To confirm the intended meaning of the criticism, Asma's father-in-law, pretending to speak to the baby, said: line 4-5 'eat eat my son, your grandparents seem to leave you hungry'.<sup>196</sup> This conventionalised impolite

<sup>196</sup> Although this utterance was not supported by laughter to be seen as an actual joke, such direct harsh criticism was not expected from the father-in-law. Thus, the hearer pretended to take it as a joke, as it was intended to be perceived.

utterance, while it was said as a joke, was actually meant to show that Asma's parents had neglected the baby, but the form of a joke allowed deniability.

According to the above discussion, 'Convention-Driven' is the type of non-conventionalised impoliteness where offensive interpretations are triggered through mismatching. In Context-driven, which will now be discussed, there is no interpretation mismatching. However, impolite interpretations are drawn within the context.

#### **7.4.3. Context-driven**

As I mentioned in Section 4.6., Culpeper (2011) suggests that Context-driven includes two forms: 1- unmarked behaviour and 2- absence of behaviour.<sup>197</sup> One example of unmarked behaviour mentioned by Culpeper (2011: 181) is as follows:

##### ***Example (46)***

TO SHOP ASSISTANT:<sup>198</sup> You've not given me the pound.

SHOP ASSISTANT: I think I did [Abruptly]

TO SHOP ASSISTANT: Well it's not there. Look. (opened wallet to show him)

SHOP ASSISTANT: Go like that. [Implied I was trying to con him] (He pointed to his sleeves, gesturing to loosen them)

TO SHOP ASSISTANT: See. [raised volume] (Opened sleeves to show him) (He handed me a pound)

TO SHOP ASSISTANT: Thank you.

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<sup>197</sup> Absence behaviour, as I mentioned in Chapter 4, is when the participant expects certain behaviour which, if absent, leads to an understanding of impoliteness. The example mentioned by Culpeper (2011) was when a student gave incorrect answer to the teacher's question and, without giving any feedback, the teacher transferred the question to another student, which made the student feel offended.

<sup>198</sup> Capitals are in origin.



According to Culpeper, the shop assistant's utterance 'go like that' seems to be cooperative. However, given the knowledge about hiding things up sleeves, the impolite implication that the shop assistant was implying that the informant 'was trying to con him' is triggered. Here, there is no mismatch involving a conventionalised polite formula, but impolite interpretations are drawn by the expectations within the context.

There was also an example mentioned by a female Libyan informant during the Focus Group discussion which illustrates a similar point about the absence of mismatches between the conventionalised polite formula and the current context (see Appendix C, pp. 115-116, lines 292-303):

*Example (47)*

ف:حني عندنا في حاجة (.) لما مثلا مناسبة و يقدموا العشي	alʕafai	jqaddmu:	wa	munasba	maθalan	lamma	ha:za	fj	ʕindna	hnai
the dinner	offer they	and	occasion	for example	when something	in	we have	we		
292- F	In my town (.) in, for example, an occasion when the hosts offer dinner (0.4) OK									

(0.5) قبل ما يقدموا العشي تأخروا في العشي تجي وحدات نساوين	nasawi:n	wahda:t	tʒj	alʕafai	fj	taʔaxru:	alʕafai	jqaddmu:	ma	qabil
women	ones	come	the dinner	of	late they	the dinner	offer they	that	before	
293-F	(0.5) before offering dinner I mean if they were late in offering dinner, some women									

يلبس فراريشين والا عباياتهن والا جلابيين و يطلعن هذه (.) هذه (0.5)	haðj	haðj	jatʕilʕan	wa	zala:bi:bhin	walla	ʕaba:ja:thin	walla	fara:ri:ʃhin	jalbsun
this	go out they	and	their Jilbabs	or	their Abayat	or	their ferrashia	wear they		
294- F	would put on their Ferrashia <sup>199</sup> or Abayas or Jilbabs <sup>200</sup> and go home this (.) this (0.5)									

أكبر حشمة↑ لأصحاب الحوش↓ (0.3) طريقة غير مباشرة معناها انتم	ʔintum	maʕnaha	muba:fra	yair	tʕari:qa	alhu:ʃ	liʔasʕha:b	hiʃma	ʔakbar
you	it mean	direct	not	way	home	owners to	embarrassing	biggest	
295- F	is really shameful to the hosts (0.3) it is an indirect way to say that you {the hosts}								

<sup>199</sup> A name for a kind of traditional Libyan outer clothes, which covers the whole body, worn by women (particularly older women) over their main clothes before going out.

<sup>200</sup> Abayas and Jilbabs are also a type of hijab, but they are used in many other Muslim countries, so they are not specified to the Libyan society.

		الواجب =	معانا	ما قدمتوش ]
		ʔilwazib the duty	maʕana us with	maqaddamtu:ʃ not offer you no
296- F	didn't do your duty [			

			أ:صح حتى حني عندنا ]
			ʕindna hnai hatta sʕah we have we even right
297- A	[ Right we have this {in my town} too [		

			ف: = تلقينا نجرو::: غير قعمزي ↑ و مش عارف شنو و ندخلوهن لدار معينة ]
		muʕai:ana lida:r nduxlu:hin wa ʃinw ʕa:rif miʃ wa qaʕimzj ɣair nizru: talqi:na certain room to them enter we and what know not and sit just run we find you	
298- F	[	= The hosts would do their best to not let them go, they would say just stay and so	
299-	on and the guests would be taken to a certain room		

باش كله شن اسمه (.) كان هي خلاص معناها اعتبرت ان هذه يعني (.) قلة	qillat jaʕnj haðj ʔinna ʔiʕtabarat maʕnaha ɣalasʕ hi:a kan ʔismah ʃin kullah baʃ	little mean this that regard she it mean enough she if its name what it all to
300- F	to, I mean (.) if she {the guest} regarded it as, I mean (.) disrespectful	

احترام والا قلة اداء واجب معنا حني (0.4) تطلع (0.3) تبدا عندنا كبيرة ان	
ʔinna kabi:ra ʕindna taɓda tatʕlaʕ hnai minana waʒib ʔadaʔ qillat walla ʔihtira:m	
that big we have it start go out she we us from duty doing little or respect	
301- F	or not doing the duty by the hosts (0.4) she would go (0.3) and this is seen as
302-	shamingthat

		هي طلعت	من غير ما	تتعشى
		hi:a	ma ɣair min	titʕaffā
		she	not without	eat dinner
303-F	she went home without having dinner			

In Libya, women are expected to wear a Jilbab or Abaya when leaving the house due to religious and traditional conventions. However, according to the informant, wearing these clothes in certain situations, which is here before having dinner at a wedding party, might

imply that the hosts are not doing their duty towards their guests or might even be seen as a sign of disrespect, which will affect the hosts' reputation seriously if they fail to persuade their guests to stay for dinner.<sup>201</sup> Thus, while the act itself (wearing outer clothes) is accepted and expected, doing so in certain situations can cause offence.<sup>202</sup>

In this section, I have investigated the notion of indirectness and its relation to impoliteness. According to the above discussion, indirectness can also be used to cause deliberate offence, either in Arabic or English. Thus, the association between indirectness and politeness does not always seem to be accurate. In the following section, I will discuss the main findings of the data analysis (the Questionnaires, Focus Groups and Naturalistic Data) and highlight the similarities and differences between directness and indirectness in Arab and English cultures.

## **7.6. Concluding Remarks**

In this chapter, I have examined the research question of to what extent is there a correlation between indirectness and politeness and directness and impoliteness, through analysing a range of naturalistic data, provided by my informants from Libya and Britain. According to the findings from my data which I have examined, English culture should not be treated as being the polar opposite to other cultures. Furthermore, the evaluations and functions of directness and indirectness can differ from one situation to another within a given cultural group, so none can be judged as being always polite or impolite, as claimed by the traditional

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<sup>201</sup>This is attributable to the importance of hospitality in Libyan society, as illustrated in the first section of this chapter.

<sup>202</sup>However, according to the other informants who took part in this discussion, this act is not interpreted thus in their hometown. This draws attention to the importance of not treating all cultural groups as if they were homogeneous.

theories (e.g. Brown and Levinson, 1987). Rather, within each cultural group, certain cultural aspects are seen as conventionally appropriate in that social group. Thus, directness can be modified or intensified according to the situation and context and yet still be seen as appropriate, due to certain ideologies about what is conceived as appropriate. Indirectness can fulfil different functions that lead to different interpretations which might be considered polite or impolite, again, according to the various ideologies about what is appropriate.

## **Chapter 8: Conclusion**

### **8.1. Introduction**

In this thesis, I have investigated certain aspects of cross-cultural politeness and impoliteness, by analysing Arabic and English preferences for performing directness and indirectness. My principal original contribution to knowledge is that the concept of politeness and, consequently, the preference for specific strategies is influenced by different conventions and ideologies around the use of such forms which differ from one culture to another. In this concluding chapter, I discuss the main findings of the data analysis and highlight the similarities and differences between directness and indirectness in Arab and English cultures, and then I discuss the main contributions of this study. I then discuss the implications of the thesis. Finally, I present recommendations for further work.

### **8.1. Overall Research Findings**

According to the data-analysis discussion in this and the previous chapter, I can present the similarities and differences between Arabic and English concerning directness and indirectness and their relation to politeness and impoliteness in the following observations:

#### **1- Perception of Directness and Indirectness**

There is a general agreement between the Arabs and English surveyed about the concept of directness and indirectness: directness is seen as explicit and obvious, while indirectness is perceived as a form of speech that holds a degree of ambiguity and implicitness. What is known as ‘conventional indirectness’ does not seem to be seen as indirect by my English informants, who perceived it as a direct form of speech. However, although both the Arab and English informants are aware that indirectness can be considered polite, impolite or both, the main difference between the two groups is that the Arabs, in general, describe the

function of indirectness negatively. This negative interpretation is reflected in the definitions and examples that the Libyan informants provided related to the meaning and function of indirect speech in the different types of data collected. It is noteworthy that not only is indirectness described negatively, but also that using this type of speech can be seen as indicative of impoliteness.

There was some contrast between the ideological beliefs about the function of directness and indirectness used by the English and their actual function. The overall interpretation is that the English are indirect and consequently polite, while directness is usually associated with rudeness. However, the English, according to many English informants' description of their own use and the examples mentioned in the data, seem to be more direct than they are aware. Furthermore, according to some of the naturalistic data examples, indirectness is not only seen as dispreferred in certain situations in English, but it can also be used for impolite purposes. That can be evidence of the difficulty of making generalisations about indirectness or considering all British people to prefer using indirect speech to be polite, ignoring the diversity among their culture. Thus, it is possibly a tendency for English people to use indirectness for polite purposes, but this is not clear-cut. Finding such contradictory views shed light on the importance of considering the ideological differences between how people feel they and others *should* speak and how they actually *do* speak (Grainger et al., 2015).

## **2- Ideologies in Mitigating Directness**

The notion of softening the impact of directness seems to be similar in both Arabic and English in similar situations, but the way of doing so differs, due to the different ideologies and norms in each culture. In English, it seems, that it is important to use certain linguistic

structures with requests as well as appropriate intonations and politeness expressions (e.g. please) to be appropriate and thus acceptable,<sup>203</sup> while Arabic is more focused on a certain intonation with direct requests. However, it might be understood that I am simply arguing that the above strategies are the only ones open to the interlocutors, or that they form the base and other strategies are exceptions. By contrast, there are different complex strategies that can be used in both cultures in different situations. For example, in Arabic, people can engage in a simple conversation before talking about the request they want to make (e.g. pre-request structures). Furthermore, using direct forms (e.g. imperatives) for less serious requests indicates social closeness between the participants; and thus is preferable. However, because of the different ideological beliefs of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in both cultures, the Arabic way of requesting might not be acceptable to English speakers, and *vice versa*.

### **3- Indirectness and Opening Options**

The claim that indirectness necessarily opens options (Leech, 1983) indicates that directness reduces such options and thus is considered impolite. As I have shown in the recorded data-analysis discussion, this claim is problematic for two main reasons: first, reducing options is not necessarily seen as impolite in some cultures, such as Arabic, where it is considered appropriate or even required in some situations (e.g. offers). Offers are preferred in unmodified or unmitigated form, and may even be intensified due to different ideological motivations related to sincerity and good hospitality. Second, the claim that directness always reduces options and indirectness always raises the level of optionality is inaccurate. In fact, there are some situations where people have the choice not to respond positively to the

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<sup>203</sup>This is not to say that intonation is unimportant in English or that such a linguistic structure is always polite, because there are some situations where such structures can be used sarcastically.

speaker's direct speech, while they, because of some ideological motivations, have fewer or no choices, but answer the speaker positively, even while speaking indirectly.

Another issue that is related to indirectness is regarding whether it is always polite, which is inaccurate, because indirectness can be offensive and thus impolite. Therefore, people's choices of particular forms of speech reflect the fact that the culture normalizes certain conventional elements within a cultural or linguistic group to be seen as appropriate and thus acceptable within that social group (Grainger, et al., 2015). Thus, Arabic and English cultures should not be portrayed as polar opposites, as they are usually described. They share the goal of employing appropriate behaviour but through different strategies due to the different expectations that individuals are supposed to fulfil in their respective societies.

Although indirectness may open options, it does not always guarantee 'optionality'. For example, in some situations in Arabic (e.g. requests), indirectness is not optional, as some traditional theories (Leech, 1983) argue, because no actual choices are open to the hearer to misrecognise the request and pretend that it is absent (as Brown and Levinson (1987) argue), if they want to be evaluated positively. In other words, choosing to misrecognise the intended meaning can be highly negatively evaluated. Thus, in such cases, indirectness, despite the different interpretations that it may hold, does not necessarily open up options from which the hearer may choose. Furthermore, there are some situations where the form of speech used is direct, while the intended meaning is hidden. Thus, if the main difference between directness and indirectness is that the latter allows for more than one interpretation, where the intended meaning is supposed to be arrived at through inference, it seems that it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut distinction between both directness and indirectness. Therefore, we cannot



make generalisations about the concept of (in)directness across languages, because its interpretations and functions may differ from one situation to another across different cultural groups.

#### **4- Directness and Opening Options**

The strategy of intensifying direct speech, particularly the insistence on the hearer doing something for the speaker, is required in certain situations (offers) in Arabic, because the insistence is a demonstration of genuine generosity and hospitality (Grainger et al., 2015). In other words, insistence in offers is a part of the ritual routines which are considered very important in Arab society. However, it is worth mentioning that directness in such a case does not necessarily restrict the options open to the hearer or force them to do what the speaker wants them to do. The hearer can sometimes refuse the speaker's offer despite the speaker's insistence on their offer. Thus, the claim that reducing options through performing insistence is impolite and describing it as a 'very fierce attempt', as Searle (1979) argues, is inadequate. However, insisting on offers in some situations occurs even in English culture (as discussed above).

Reducing options to the extent that the hearer has no choice but to accept what the speaker asks them to do is also seen as appropriate in making offers in Arabic, because it is conventionalised and ritualised as a norm in such situations. Thus, it is not evaluated negatively. The offerer must ensure that their guests are satisfied, where the offerer serves their guests through frequent insistence. Such routines are expected by both host and guest in Arabic. However, in English, according to ideological beliefs, such behaviour might be considered an impediment to the individual's freedom of action, and thus be evaluated as impolite but, in Arabic, it is not only seen as appropriate, but the absence of such actions

could be evaluated negatively. Thus, it is more about a shared agreement among the members of a certain cultural group about what constitutes appropriate behaviour than the judgement of certain linguistic behaviour as being good or bad *per se*. However, the degree of insistence depends on many factors (such as the situation, the relationship between interactants and so on). In Arabic, the speaker might be assertive (or even aggressive from the perspective of some non-Arab cultures) about their offer and yet still be seen as behaving appropriately.

### **5- Cultural Effect on the Speakers' Choices**

What constitutes indirectness and its functions might differ from one linguistic group to another. What might be perceived as conventional or routine in certain groups in some situations might be seen as vague and ambiguous in others. For example, using indirectness, or going off-record, may be considered appropriate and evaluated as polite in certain situations in Arabic, while the same strategy might be seen as a hint or vague from a British perspective. Grainger (2011: 189) argues that “where the participants do not share the same interpretation framework misunderstanding and misattribution of intention may result”. For example, Levinson (1983) accuses Germans of being less polite than the English simply because they prefer more direct forms in certain situations, without taking into consideration any factors that might affect individuals' choices (such as what is normalised as conventional behaviour in that group). Thus, while it is appropriate to use direct forms in some situations in Arabic, which might be evaluated negatively by some British-English people, there are other situations in which British-English people prefer some strategies that are seen as inappropriate in Arabic. Therefore, it is not a matter of Arabic-speakers being more direct or English-speakers being more indirect. Rather, it is more that certain conventional elements become normalised or enregistered over time within linguistic or cultural groups as being appropriate in certain situations.

## **6- Indirectness and Impoliteness**

Indirectness can be used deliberately to cause offence. The vast majority of research on politeness and (in)directness, either English or cross-cultural, has focused only on the positive aspect of the function of indirectness in English or when English is compared to other cultural groups. However, in this study, it seems that not only is indirectness dispreferred in some situations, but it can also be offensive, both in Arabic and English. As I have shown above, indirectness can be used to indicate impoliteness in both Arabic and English. Furthermore, although indirectness can be used for polite purposes in some cultural groups, such as in Libyan Arabic, the overall perception is negative, because it is ideologically linked to impoliteness.

The strategies used by the Libyans and English in using indirectness to cause offence are, more or less, similar. However, according to the Arabic data I collected, it seems that 'Form-driven implicational impoliteness' is the most commonly used type compared to the other types in Arabic, whereas Convention-driven, according to my English data and the examples provided by Culpeper in explaining this phenomenon, seems to be more common in English. Furthermore, due to the negative interpretation of indirectness in Libyan-Arabic, it seems that using indirectness for impolite purposes is more complicated in Arabic than in English. For example, there are some situations and examples that are mentioned by the Libyan informants which do not seem to occur in English. This claim is not based on my data alone, but also on the examples mentioned by researchers who work on this phenomenon in English (e.g. Culpeper, 2011). The most common examples that are mentioned by the Libyan informants that are not mentioned in the English data are: getting revenge; sending out parallel messages; conveying others' opinion about the target; offending the addressee through criticising people who have a close relationship with them; and generalising

meanings. However, although 'generalising meanings' 'تعميم المعنى' (or signifying) is seen as an indirect form of speech, it seems to be conventionalised in a way that is sufficiently understandable and accessible for the hearer(s) to be guided towards the intended meaning due to the 'mutual cognitive environment' of the interactants. Thus, such utterances are unambiguous. This can be attributed to the nature of such a strategy, which allows for deniability more than any other strategy, where offence can be performed with less fear of retribution.

### 7- The Role of Religion

Religion seems to play a significant role within Libyan-Arabic society, where politeness and impoliteness are evaluated according to conformity to Islamic teachings. However, it is not only that behaviour is dominated by religious teachings, but religion also seems to be reflected in everyday language, particularly in polite formulaic expressions (e.g. 'for God's sake بالله عليك' = please; 'May God give you good health صحتك' = thanks).

According to these findings, we can conclude that the strategies employed are conventionalised in a way that makes certain behaviour polite within a certain linguistic group, but not in another. However, we should not suppose that these two communities are completely different because, as we have already seen, people in both cultures are motivated to meet the expectations of their respective society. Furthermore, these strategies may differ from one situation to another, so the Arabs may not see themselves as being direct, as they might be seen by, say, English people. For example, as I have shown in analysing the Arabic male focus group, Arabs ideologically perceive themselves as being indirect and describe people who use direct forms as 'strong-faced وجه صحيح', while some Arabic examples might be judged as overly direct by English speakers. This might be explained by the fact that most

studies (e.g. collectivist vs. individualist) focus only on classifying cultures and linguistic groups as being direct or indirect, which is inadequate in itself, because directness and indirectness occur in most societies, but to different extents in different situations (Grainger, 2014). Furthermore, the situations that influence individuals' choices, and what constitutes directness and indirectness might differ. Therefore, we cannot simply judge a whole culture as preferring certain forms of speech rather than others. For example, while some studies indicate that Arabs are direct (Hamza, 2007; Al Batal et al. 1993), others present them as indirect (Katriel, 1969; Merkin, 2012). This demonstrates Mills and Kadar's (2011) point that the degree of (in)directness is ideological, because it relies on people's judgements about a language.

### **8.3. Original Contribution to Knowledge of the Research**

This thesis makes the following major contributions:

#### **1- Cultural Stereotypes**

The analysis of the data clearly demonstrates that there are some differences between Libyan Arabic and British English perceptions of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in both cultures. However, the stereotypical description of British English as indirect and as a negative politeness culture (as argued by Sifianou, 1992), that the majority of the research, does not offer a real demonstration of actual linguistic practices of the British people. Although there may be some elements of truth in this stereotype, these elements should not simply be explained by the generalised view that is usually presented. For example, cross-cultural analysts usually contrast other cultures' indirectness to the role that indirectness is supposed to play in British culture. It seems, then, that when analysing other cultures, the researchers apply Western analysts' understanding of how indirectness is interpreted in

British English to other cultures. Such studies (Sifianou 1991; House, 2010), thus, suggest that directness is more appropriate in certain contexts, such as requests, where indirectness is preferred for English-speakers. However, these studies do not show whether indirectness occurs in their cultures or not, and if it does exist, how it functions and is interpreted. Thus, as Mills and Kadar (2011: 44) argue, “we need to distance ourselves from the conservative and ideological nature of this type of analysis”. Thus, in this thesis I have moved away from this type of ideological stereotype of politeness, (as stereotypical views are often very different from actual behaviour). Therefore, through criticising the stereotypical representation of cultures, and focusing more on politeness norms derived from data analysis without depending on ideological views, this thesis has provided a more adequate analysis of politeness norms in both Arabic and British cultures.

## **2- Developing a Methodology for a Cross-cultural Study**

Stadler (2011) argues that most cross-cultural studies often make cross-cultural comparisons relying on Discourse Completion Tasks (DCT), or questionnaires that simply ask the informants to put themselves in imaginary situations to answer certain questions, even if they were not within their own experience, rather than on data from real-life encounters. This raises the question of the validity of such data to account for politeness as a complex phenomenon in these cultures. Thus, the present study, using a range of data drawn from the situations that the informants experienced, presents a more adequate representation of what might influence people’s choices in different contexts and accesses not only participants’ performance, but also their beliefs about performance. It is this examination of ideologies as well as performance which is important.

### **3- Comparing Cultures**

Cultures in most cross-cultural research are usually contrasted. As a result, cultures are presented as being totally different, which gives the impression that intercultural interactions between different cultural communities are impossible or at least they always result in unavoidable misunderstandings. This thesis, however, is an attempt to show that cultures should not be treated as diametrically opposed. Rather, cultures should be examined carefully and separately in order to investigate how different language activities are performed without being simply compared to other cultures, according to certain criteria, suggested by certain theories which might not be applicable cross-culturally. Thus, this thesis has focused as much on similarities as on differences.

### **4- Developing the Approaches of Interactions in Cross-cultural Contexts**

Moving away from the traditional theories of politeness towards a more context- and situation-based model, this thesis adopts a more adequate approach to the complexity of understanding politeness in cross-cultural contexts. The main contribution to knowledge this thesis has made is that the discursive approach to (im)politeness I developed proposes the possibility to infer the indexical meaning of specific linguistic practices, such as directness and indirectness, where the meanings become associated with certain social values. As a result, such an approach contributes to the investigation of certain areas which are often neglected in the field of politeness. For example, directness and indirectness are shown to be multifunctional and can have different implications and interpretations. Thus, we cannot rely only on linguistic features to understand (im)politeness norms, and instead we need to focus on how these features are interpreted within cultures. In addition, to my knowledge, this thesis is the first to investigate the relationship between (in)directness, optionality and (im)politeness. The results of this thesis have shown that directness does not necessarily

restrict options, and indirectness does not necessarily open options, as claimed by Leech (1983).<sup>204</sup> Furthermore, optionality that is claimed to be provided by indirectness is not always evaluated positively.

On the whole, this thesis has proved that (im)politeness cannot be analysed through models which are built on certain rules (such as those of speech act theory), nor by analysing only the linguistic meaning of utterances. A simple link between particular linguistic forms and certain functions, ignoring contextual and cultural factors, that lead to different evaluations of contexts is inaccurate. Thus, a more context-based model is required, in order to capture the complexity and diversity of contextual evaluations across cultures.

#### **8.4. Implications of the Study**

##### **1- Cultural Differences**

According to the data-analysis discussion, there seem to be some differences between the British and Arab participants with regard to the assessment of the concept and functions of directness and indirectness. Thus, the interpretation of a certain context depends on a cultural assessment. However, there are also some similarities in such assessments. These results underline the importance of focusing as much on the similarities between different cultural communities as on the differences between them. Thus, this study has investigated a combination of different factors (such as cultural norms, ideologies, conventions, expectations and so on) that influence such assessments instead of simply contrasting cultural values.

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<sup>204</sup> Of course, this is not to say that indirectness does not open options or directness does not restrict options, but there are other cases which need to be taken into consideration, as I have shown above.



## **2- Cultural Generalisations**

Most previous cross-cultural studies have relied on making generalisations about cultures at a stereotypical level (Merkin, 2012; Fukushima, 2002). English people, for example, are often characterised as indirect. However, as the results of this study show, the stereotype of British people as indirect does not always hold true, as they can be more direct than they are aware. Furthermore, such classifications are primarily based on the presupposition about the concept and the functions that indirectness is assumed to have. Thus, the studies that characterise Arabs as being indirect, for example, might be seen as evaluating Arabs negatively, if we take into consideration the Arab informants' overall evaluations of indirectness as being associated with impoliteness. This not only demonstrates the danger of making generalisations about cultures, but also the risk of generalising about the concept and function of different cultural practices in different cultural groups.

## **3- Intercultural Communication**

This thesis, like many other studies (as I have shown in chapter 3), draws attention to the importance of taking the communicative aspects of language into consideration in teaching or learning a foreign language. Thus, to avoid possible misunderstandings in intercultural communications, foreign language learners are advised to aim at communicative competence as well as linguistic competence (Sifianou, 1992). However, misunderstandings and communication problems may occur even with individuals who belong to the same cultural background in certain situations. Thus, misunderstandings are not necessarily attributed only to belonging to different cultures. Furthermore, as I have shown in chapter 7, people from different cultures might share similar knowledge about the inference of some complex linguistic forms (e.g. sarcasm), which shows that similarities may occur among cultures as well as differences. Thus, we need to be cautious in our discussion of cultures.

### **8.5. Suggestions for Further Research**

The topic I have explored in this thesis suggests the need for further research. Thus, a great deal more cross-cultural and politeness-focused empirical research is needed in order to explain a wide variety of linguistic activities in general, and of directness and indirectness in particular. An investigation of this type is principally useful with languages like Arabic and English, which are often categorised according to certain stereotypical presuppositions. For example, it is often taken for granted or assumed that British politeness is necessarily focused on indirect forms. Thus, the work I have done on English could be used as a starting point for further research on the difference between how people feel that they or others should speak and the way they actually do speak. Furthermore, a greater focus on the role that gender plays in the preference for direct or indirect forms is needed. Although this thesis has shed light on the importance of taking such an element into consideration, gender has not been extensively discussed, because it was not the focus of the study. The concept of 'face' and its relation to (in)directness and (im)politeness is also a neglected area within Arabic (im)politeness work. Thus, it is worth investigating this concept in Arabic, because its evaluation might be different from that of English. Through exploring how people use language to indicate politeness in different cultures, intercultural communications may be improved, and thus misunderstandings can be reduced among individuals who come from different cultural backgrounds. It is for this reason that pursuing further research in this area is very important, as directness and indirectness are considered to be one of the main elements that give rise to pragmatic failure in intercultural communication.

### **8.6. Final Concluding Remarks**

The success or failure of communication depends on the extent to which people's behaviour meets certain cultural expectations, which might differ from one culture to another. For

example, my interest in investigating direct and indirect speech and other issues related to them stemmed from observing the way in which they are often performed in Arabic. As a member of an Arabic cultural community, I realised that both directness and indirectness are multifunctional and can be used for different purposes, either polite or impolite. The supposed English indirectness should not be seen as static or limited to a certain function (e.g. politeness). Indirectness is mostly treated in the literature as being necessarily used for polite purposes. Even when it is claimed to have a negative side, this is shown as being marginal whereas, as the results of this thesis show, indirectness can be synonymous with impoliteness in some cultures, such as Libyan-Arabic, in certain contexts.

Through this study, I have drawn attention to the importance of avoiding treating cultures, especially those which are claimed to come from different politeness orientations (e.g. positive vs. negative), as polar opposites because, although ideologies about what might be seen as appropriate might differ, the motivation for meeting the expectations and thus behaving appropriately might be similar. This study has provided an analysis of British and Arabic cultures in respect to directness and indirectness, and it will be of some help in questioning the representation of these cultures at a stereotypical level. I have moved away from Brown and Levinson's theory towards a more adequate approach that can cope with the complexity and diversities of cultures. Although this study constitutes a small step in such a field, particularly within the research on Arabic-speaking communities, it has contributed to the development of a theoretical and analytical framework on cross-cultural politeness and impoliteness research.

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Vol 2

**REFERENCE**

**A Comparison of Arabic and English Directness and Indirectness: Cross-  
Cultural Politeness**

**Zainab Mohamed Kerkam**

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# **QUESTIONNAIRES**

## **Appendix (A): Arabic Questionnaire**

In this section, 25 Libyan informants' (12 females and 13 males) responses to the Arabic questionnaire are presented. These responses start on page 3 and end on page 36.

## Questionnaire (A-1)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 30

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

حسن الحوار و التعامل

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

سوء الحوار أو عدم حسن التصرف

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

بالهمز و اللمز

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

لانتقاد شخص في موقف ما أو أثناء غضبي من شيء معين

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب، أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية)، هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

في أغلب الأحيان أستخدم الكلام المباشر

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص،

المكان، الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا.

كنت أعاتب قريبة لي لأنها تبذل مجهودا في مناسبة ما و أهل المناسبة نفسها لا يبذلون الجهد نفسه و لديها أطفال و كنا

جالسين معا و معنا جمع من النسوة فقلت لها يا فلانة: هل الميت صبروا و المعزيين كفروا

## Questionnaire (A-2)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 40

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

عدم الاساءة للغير

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

التطاول على مشاعر الغير

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

تبليغ يللي يدور في راسك للي قاعد قدامك من غير ما يفهمها حد من اللي حداك

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في حالة أخطأ حد حداك في مجمع مدرزة والا حد يهدرز في موضوع يتعلق شخص قاعد معاه

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيين بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب، أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

الاثنتين جميع

6- كليبي (ليبية)، هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

الاثنتين على الموقف اللي قدامي

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص، المكان، الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

في نهار ماشيين نغزوا في والد صاحنا في طرابلس و جي وقت الغدي و كان الجو قبلي و صاحب العزي قاعد معانا و

جابوا الغدي بازين و كان الايدام ساخن يفرط اليدين و صاحبي اللي معاي ياكل و يقول حامية التركة و يعاود فيها كم مرة

لين تحشمت كل و قتله كول و رحم يا رجال لين فهمها وسكت

### Questionnaire (A-3)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 40

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

التهذيب هو حسن الخلق ومعاملة الناس بما يرضي الله والرسول بمعنى معاملة الناس بكل احترام وتقدير حتي وان لم يعاملوك بالمثل

2- كيف تعرف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو عدم احترام الاداب العامه في السلوك الذي يسلكه الشخص  
مثل عدم احترام الصغير للكبير او التلطف بالفاظ نابيه غير مقبوله

3- كيف تعرف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الكلام الذي ضاهره لا يعني باطنه بمعنى ان الكلام الغير مباشر يجب علي المستمع ان يفهمه بدون التركيز علي معاني مفردات الجمل المنطوقه من قبل المتحدث

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

المواقف عاده التي يستحي فيها المتحدث ان يبين مطلبه مباشره للمستمع بحيث لا يتعرض المتحدث للاهانـه كما نفسرها احيانا-عندما يكون الجواب الرفض

وكذلك الكلام الغير مباشر احيانا يستخدم بطريقه غير مقبوله عند توجيه اهانه او سخرية لشخص ما بدون توجيه الكلام مباشره اليه  
مثلا عند سخرية اثنان من شخص ثالث

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيين بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

يستخدمونه احيانا في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب عندما يريدون طلب شئ ويخجلون من طلبه مباشره

والاكثر في المواقف التي تسدعي قله الادب وخاصة عند صغار السن اقصد الشباب بنات-اولاد

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

افضل الكلام المباشر لان الغير مباشر يشعرني بانه يجب اختار الجمل والكلمات بحيث لايساء فهم ما ارمي اليه

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مره ولدي عمره 11 سنه يحب يبات مع جدته ام ابوه وعماته فمره كانوا يحكوا علي امور شخصيه تهمهم ولما انتبهوا ان ولدي جالس معاهم ويسمع قالت جدته بالحرف الواحد -البحر فيه كلب - بمعنى ان فيه حد مش لازم يسمع الكلام اللي نقولوا فيه وطبعاً ولدي ذكي وجعاته من جدته العبارة اللي قالتها وجاني ثاني يوم بيكي وقال لي جدتي تحسباني مانفهم شن تقصد حتي واني ماكنك مركز عيش يهدرزوا لكن لما قالت البحر فيه كلب فهمت اني مش لازم انكون معاهم في هدرزناهم ومفروض نطلع

ياالله ربي يسامحهم

#### Questionnaire (A-4)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 27

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

حسن التصرف ومعاملة الناس بلطف في الأفعال

اما عن الاقول فيجب ان يكون الكلام لطيف وطيب ومراعي لحال السامع وعدم احراجه باستخدام مصطلحات لا يفهمها

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

اي فعل او قول يسبب اذى للآخر بشرط ان يكون هذا الآخر طبيعي وليس مفرط الحساسية

ايضا في الاماكن العامة عدم احترام وجود الاخر مثلا في طابور او ازعاج من أي نوع كان

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو مخاطبة الاشخاص من دون ان تنادي الشخص باسمه وتقول له ماتريد (توجيه الكلام للشخص دون ذكر اسمه وانتظار رد منه)

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في 3 مواقف

الاول: ان توجه شخص لفعل شيء صواب دون ان تحرجه وتقول له انت لا تعرف ما اعرفه انا.

اثاني: ان توقف شخص يقوم بفعل غير جيد- أي انه يؤدي احدهم- عند حده دون ان تدخل معه في صدام وتوجه الكلام له مباشر.

الثالث: ان تطلب من احد طلب وتعرف رأيه هل هو موافق او لا دون ان تتعرض لاجراج الرفض وذل السؤال.

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

هذا يتوقف على سلوك الشخص هناك من يستخدم الكلام غير المباشر في غرض خير كما سبق في اجابة 4



ولكن البعض من الناس التي ينقصها التهذيب قد تستخدم الكلام غير المباشر في احراج شخص كالتركيز على عيب به او التركيز على خطأ غير مقصود قام بارتكابه

وقد تصل حدة الكلام غير المباشر الى الاهانة الشديدة لان الشخص ليس لديه حق الرد في هذه الحالة والا اهان نفسه اكثر

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

افضل الكلام غير المباشر في الاغراض الخيرة سواءا كما ذكرت في التوجيه مني او الي لتجنب الاحراج او طلب شي مني لانني قد لا استطيع الرفض في حالة طلب مني شخص شي حتى لو كنت غير راضية علي ذلك كذلك لتجنب الم رفض احدهم لطلب طلبته منه بشكل مباشر.

واكرهها جدا في في الاغراض الشريرة كما سبق لانه ليس لاحد حق التدخل في الاخر واحججه بالتركيز على عيوب به او اهانتته دون ان يكون له حق في الرد.

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدثت إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

لما رجعت لليبيا بعد سنة دراسة برا عشان نشوف هلي وطبعاً أمي يسكنوا معاها بيت خوي الصغير فمرة خوي قالت قلت لـخوك نبي نكمل دراستي قاللي هذا اللي مازال نعرف اللي يديرها حاكمة فيه مرتة, فوجعتني منها لأن طبعاً هذه مش وجهة نظر خوي أبداً لأنه كان ديمة يشجع فيا فحسيتها تقصدي لأنها ماحصلتش تقرأ برا فتبي تقلل من شاني ومن شان قرابتي.

### Questionnaire (A-5)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 33

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟  
الأخلاق الإسلامية

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟  
هو سوء التعامل أو التخاطب

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الاشارات و الهمز و اللمز

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

لا استعمله الا لتوضيح شيء لغيري لا علاقة لأحد غيره به

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي عدم التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

لا أفضل الكلام الغير مباشر لأنه من عدم اللباقة

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدثت إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

اي صار لي موقف...مرة منت في عزومة غدي و كنت حامل و عادة لما نكون حامل ناكل برا البيت أكثر من أكلي بالبيت فالاكل كان طيب و انا الواقع ما ناكل الا فترة و فترة فالباين اني انسجمت في الاكل فواحدة كانت معنا في القعد همزت صاحبته و قالت: ما تري بكل و في نفس الوقت أنا رفعت عيني صاحبته كانت تشوف فيا كانت تصدني اني ناكل وجعتني منها وتحشمت بكل. ربي ياخذها بنيتي

## Questionnaire (A-6)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمز: 30

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

التهذيب او الادب في رأي هو سلوك الفرد والذي ينعكس في تصرفاته و في طريقة حديثه وهو انعكاس لتربية الفرد والبيئة التي نشأ فيها.

2- كيف تعرف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

يمكن معرفة قلة الادب او عدم التهذيب من خلال طريقة حديث الشخص او تصرفاته التي تدل علي عدم تهذيب.

3- كيف تعرف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

يمكن التعرف علي الكلام الغير مباشر من ضمن سياق الكلام وموضوع المحادثة.

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عندما تريد اتهام شخص ما بعمل شيء ما ولكنك غير متأكد فتقوم بتوجيه كلام غير مباشر و كذلك اذا اردت ان تطلب طلب معين او ان تقوم بتعميم معين كواجب نظافة البيت بين افراد الاسرة يمكن استخدام الكلام الغير المباشر وبعض الافراد يستخدم الكلام الغير مباشر لمضايقة الغير.

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في اعتقادي في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب.

6- كاليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

انا افضل استخدام الكلام المباشر واذا قمت باستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر فاني استخدمه في حدود الادب والذوق.

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص، المكان، الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

أناجارة خوي و كنت لما زوجته تبي تطلع لمكان زيارة حد و ما تبش ترفع صغارها تخليهم عندي وأنا طبعا عادي عندي. نتذكر مرة كان عندي دعوة لفرح بنتي قاعدة صغيرة وعارفة انه استحالة نرفعها معاي للفرح لان موسيقى وصوت عالي و تقعد تعيط ففكرت اني نرفعها لمرة خوي بس تحشمت نرفعها طول قلت خلي نمشيلهم نشوف الجو و طبعا قلتلها اني بنمشي للفرح لكن مش عارفة كيف اندير لجميلة فعلى طول قالتلي شن فيها كان رفعتيها معاك حطيلها غياراتها مرضعتها في شنطة وعدي وجعتني لاني توقعت ان زي ما أنا ديمة نمسك في صغارها وبكل صدر رجب أكيد حتى هي بتقولي خليها عندي ولهذا ما مشيتش للفرح.

### Questionnaire (A-7)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر :- 47

الجنس :- ذكر

الجنسية :- ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

معناه تحلي الشخص بالاخلاق الحميدة من " صدق ووفاء بالعهد و اداء الامانات " في جميع معاملاته الحياتية حركة كانت او لفظا و مع اي شخص كان قريب او بعيد دون النظر للون او الجنس او العرق و في اي مكان كان " البيت , العمل ، الشارع " .

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

عدم التحلي بالاخلاق الحميدة من " كذب و غش و عدم اداء الامانة " .

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

و هو مايقال للعامة و يمسك شخصيا .

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

المواضيع العامة التي تخص الناس عادة او بعض منهم .

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب , أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

الليبيون بوجه عام !! لا اعتقد.

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

استخدم الكلام المباشر عادة عندما اكون مع الشخص وجها لوجه و دون وجود احد و ذلك لوضع النقاط ع الحروف .

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

المواقف كثيرة و لا تحضرني في هذه اللحظة و لكن ساذكر موقف ع الفيس " في تعليقات احدي الاصدقاء كانت املاؤه خاطئه فعلقت بعده مباشرة و كررت نفس الكلمة بالصورة الصحيحة " الكلام لك و المعني الغيري " بمعني ماكتبته من تعليق لصاحب الموضوع و الهدف من تعليقي تصحيح كلمة من سبقني في التعليق .

### Questionnaire (A-8)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (x) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 38

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو ان تتصرف وفق القواعد المتعارف عليها في المجتمع سواء المستمدة من الدين او العادات او القوانين الوضعية التي تنظم المجتمع

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

من خلال مشاهدة تصرفات الناس الخارجة عن المؤلف سواء بالقول او الفعل

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

من خلال حديث الشخص في بعض المواقف باعطى امثلة لتوجيه المتلقي الى نقطة معينة لسبب ما لا يريد ان يواجه فيه

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

مثل ان يكون الشخص في موقف ولا يريد ان يسبب في تازم موقف ما خاصة عندما يكون موجه الحديث اضعف من المتلقي (اي الخوف) او لا يريد المشاكل خاصة عندما تكون في الاماكن العامة او يكون الكلام الغير مباشر بين الاصدقاء

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيين بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

نعم يميلون في كلا الحالتين لاننا مجتمع تعودنا على عدم قبول وجه نظر الطرف الاخر حتى وان كنا على خطأ باستثناء الحالات التي يكون فيها المتحدث عنده القوة سواء المتمثلة في منصب او العمر او الواجه الاجتماعية

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

بصفة عامة كليبي الكلام الغير مباشر اما كشخصي الكلام المباشر

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

هر عندنا احد الاصدقاء حراج لاي نقد حتى وان كان هو غالط وكنا نسهر تقريبا مع بعض والمشكلة كيف ما نقول لسانه ما يهنيشي وفي اغلب الاحيان يحدث بينه وبين احد الاصدقاء مناوشات تبدأ بالبصارة كيف ما نقول سريعا ما تتحول الى تلقيح كلام على بعضهم احيانا احنا الباقين نقوم بالتدخل لاسكاتهم الصديق الذي اشرت اليه دائما لا يعجبه كلامنا لانه بصفة عامة يتناول كثيرا فيحرج واحيانا يقعد ايام لا ياتي الى السهرية



### Questionnaire (A-9)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (x) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 29

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

أن يتحلى الانسان بأخلاق حسنة في الحديث كعدم مقاطعة الآخرين طلب ما يريد بطريقة مهذبة

2- كيف تعرّف الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

أن يكون الانسان بأخلاق سيئة كعدم احترام الآخرين و رفع الصوت و مقاطعة الحديث

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو أن يتكلم المرء بطريقة غير مباشرة خوفا من احراج الآخرين في طلبه أو يمكن تعريفه بما يعرف في اللهجة الليبية "بضر المعاني"

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

إذا كان الشخص الذي اتحدث اليه لا أعرفه جيدا أو عنما انتقد شخصا ما

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

اعتقد انهم يفضلون الكلام المباشر و ربما يرجع ذلك الى العادات الاجتماعية و كثرة احتكاكهم ببعضهم أو ربما يجدون الكلام الغير مباشر ثقيلًا عليهم

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مرة في عيد الفطر رفضت نشري لصغاري ملابس غالية فقالت حماتي أحسن ما في نبيل (أخ زوجي) ما يتستخرش حاجة في صغاره مهما كانت غالية تقصديني أني على أساس نستخر في صغاري

## Questionnaire (A-10)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (x) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 33

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو أن تتمتع بالاخلاق الحميدة و أسلوب حسن

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو أن تلفظ بالكلمات جارحة تسيء للغير

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو تلميح أو ضرب معاني توصيل كلمة سيئة أو بطريقة غير مباشرة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

توصيل كلام سيء بطريقة غير مباشرة

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب، أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب "جيل جديد"

6- كليبي (ليبية)، هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

طبعاً الكلام المباشر ليكون في نقاش و لو كنت غلطانة نعتذر

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصياً تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدماً الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص،

المكان، الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

المثال هو أنني ذات مرة كنت في جلسة مع قريبات لأهل زوجي وكنا نتكلم عن مواضيع مختلفة فبدأت بالتلميح ببعض

الامور التي شعرت انهن كن يقصدنني أنا بها مثل أنها لا تمتلك جسم جميل أنها ممتلئة الجسم يعني مثل هذه الامور

فأحسست ببعض الضيق .

### Questionnaire (A-11)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 35

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الأدب هو أن تكون مهذب السلوك و حسن الألفاظ و عدم التلطف بالالفاظ البذيئة و السيئة

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو أمر غير جيد يدل على سوء التربية

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر هو انك تريد أن تقول فكرة أو أمر ولا تريد أن تجرح به الشخص الذي أمامك فتلجأ الى أمثلة و أسماء أخرى

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

أحيانا عندما أكون في جلسة مع نسوة أشعر أو أعرف أنهن يوجهن بعض الكلام لي. فحين يحدث موقف مشابه أتكلم ببعض الكلام الغير مباشر

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

هم يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أنا أحيانا أفضل استخدام الكلام الغير مباشر "أي كلام المعاني" لكي يتكلموا عن الشخص الذي أمامهم بكل حرية دون أن يبينوا له أنه المقصود بهذا الكلام

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدثت إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

شخص يسمع خبر من شخص آخر من مكان آخر مش من مصدره فيوصل معلومة أنا سمعت خبر بطريقة غير مباشرة

## Questionnaire (A-12)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 28

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الأدب هو كلمة تعني أن يتبع الإنسان سلوكيات صحيحة فعلا و قولاً. و أقصد بصحيحة أن لا تتنافى مع القيم المثلى للمجتمع و تختلف هذه القيم من مجتمع لآخر

2- كيف تعرّف الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو أي خروج عن التهذيب بفعل أو بقول قد يسبب أذى أو إحراج لأي شخص كان بشرط أن يكون هذا الشخص طبيعياً أي غير مفرط الحساسية

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر هو كلام يصدر عن الإنسان و لكن دون أن يوجه لشخص بعينه و الغرض منه أن يصل مضمون الكلام لمن هو مقصود به.

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

يستخدم الكلام الغير المباشر في عدة أغراض أولها حسن النية كلوم من أم لأحد أبنائها و ثانيها يقصد به الإهانة أو الاستفزاز و هو أشد من الإهانة المباشرة لأن حق الرد غير مكفول

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

هناك من يستخدم الكلام المباشر في هذا و ذاك و لكن طبيعة الشعب الليبي ناقد و مستهزي و يستخدم كثيرا الكلام الغير المباشر في قلة التهذيب و الإهانة

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أعتقد أن الجيل الجديد أقل استخداماً لهذا النوع من الكلام فكلما ارتفع مستوى التعليم و الوازع الديني كلما قل استخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في غرض غير سوي

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

لا أتذكر موقف بعينه ولكن دائما استخدم الأسلوب الغير مباشر مدعما بالمواقف والأحداث بهدف تقديم النصح والنهي عن أفعال أو أقوال غير لائقة قد يقوم بها الطلبة و لا أفضل اللجوء إلى النصح المباشر حتى لا أخرج الطالب

### Questionnaire (A-13)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 17

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو حسن المعاملة و حسن الخلق و عدم تقليل الادب أو التناول على الآخرين

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو قلة الاحترام للناس عامة

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو انك تقول كلام مش كويس على شخصه انت متعمدة بس تقول فيه بطريقة غير مباشرة "تلقيح"

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

ممكن في مواقف سوء التفاهم أو انك توقضيه علي حاجة أو تذكره

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيين بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

ممكن يقول كلام غير مباشر بطريقة مش كويسة و ممكن تكون كلام مباشر بطريقة مش كويسة و العكس صحيح حسب أخلاق الشخص

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

الكلام المباشر لأن الصراحة أحسن شيء ما تجيش تلقح عليك و تقول كلام مش كويس بطريقة غير مباشرة

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص,

المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مرة عمتي قالتلي ما شاء الله عليك بنية خوي عقلك مليح مش زي ايديك. صدمتني

### Questionnaire (A-14)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 39

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو أن يتحلى الإنسان بالاخلاق الحميدة و احترام الآخرين و عدم جرح مشاعرهم

2- كيف تعرف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هي عدم احترام الآخرين و عدم التحلي بالاخلاق الحميدة

3- كيف تعرف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر هو عملية محاولة الشخص للوصول الى الهدف بطريقة أطول

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

المواقف التي يمكن أن تسبب الاحراج للمستمع

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

لا يمكن الجزم

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

حسب الموقف

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص,

المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

بعض الأشخاص أحيانا يهتمك أمرهم و لكن لايمكن نصيحتهم بطريقة مباشرة و في هذه الحالة يكون من المفيد أن تضرب

لهم بعض الامثال على أشخاص اخرين

### Questionnaire (A-15)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 43

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

أن نحترم الآخرين و نحترم الدين و العادات و التقاليد

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو عدم احترام الدين و الآخرين و و العادات و التقاليد و التصرف دون مراعاة هذه العناصر الاربعة

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الوصول للغاية التي تريدها بعبارات غير مباشرة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

لتجنب الاحراج أو لاضفاء نوع من الدعابة و الفكاهة في الحديث أو لتجنب الحديث غير المهذب

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

الكلام المباشر لاني أحب الوضوح في حديثي

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص,

المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

قالت لي زوجتي مرة أن اذهب الى محل المواد الغذائية لاحضضر شيء و كنت لا اريد الذهاب فاتصلت بصاحب المحل

بالهاتف فقال لي أنه أغلق فقلت لها "جت منك يا جامع" راه المحل مغلق



## Questionnaire (A-16)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 28

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو التصرف أو السلوك الذي يتبعه شخص معين في مجتمع و يكون السلوك مقبول أو محبوب

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو التصرف أو السلوك الغير مقبول أو محبوب في مجتمع معين

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الكلام الذي يعمم بصفة عامة لمنع الاحراج أو بسبب مشاكل مع الشخص المعني بالكلام

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في الاماكن العامة و في مجمع من الناس و عند مخاطبة شخص مسؤول

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

الاثنين لكن غالبا الكلام المباشر لتوصيل المعلومة أو وجهة نظري في موضوع معين

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

حدثت مشكلة في الشغل و المدير كان عارف من الشخص الذي سبب الخلفكان كلام المدير عام بدون توجيه الكلام للشخص المعني مباشرة لمنع الاحراج أو تسبب المشاكل

### Questionnaire (A-17)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 37

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو عدم مخالفة الشرع و عرف المجتمع عند التعامل مع الآخرين

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو مخالفة الشرع و العرف بالتعدي على الآخرين أو ايدائهم بقول أو فعل

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو توجيه كلام للشخص و المراد منه معنى اخر

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عند نصح شخص لا تربطني به علاقة قوية

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص,

المكان, الاشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

كان الموقف في المسجد مع أحد الاخوة الليبيين و الذي لا تربطني به علاقة, وكان الكلام بيني و بينه و عندما خالفته الرأي

في الموضوع الذي سألتني عنه أصبح بوجه كلام غير مباشر و دون أن يشعر أصبحت لهجته أقرب الى التهديد

## Questionnaire (A-18)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 34

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الأدب هو أن يتحلى المرء بالاخلاق الحسنة بمعنى أن كل عمل حسن أدب

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو كل عمل أو تصرف غير محبوب بمعنى اخر هو كل الكلام الغير مرغوب في سماعه

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الكلام تقصد به شخص معين و تتغاضى أن تقول له مباشرة خوفا من احراجة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عندما انتقد تصرف شخص ما

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف

التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أفضل الكلام المباشر لأنه يوصف الحدث بأكثر دقة

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام

الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص,

المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

أولا صلة القرابة زميل في الدراسة, المكان في الجامعة, الحاضرون حوالي خمس أشخاص. الشخص كان في ليبيا و قد

حوالي شهر ثم عاد فسألته عن حال ليبيا من جميع النواحي, فقال لي البلاد مية مية فسألته عن محاصرة بعض الوزارات

فقلت له هذا غير لائق يعني مشكلة, فقال لي هذا أحسن شي هكي الحرية و لو مات جيش تجي بالسلاح. فقلت و أنا أنظر

للحاضرين نحن الليبيين فاهمين الحرية بالعكس. أنا أقصده هو انه فاهم الحرية بالعكس لتجنب احراجة فعممت عدم الفهم

لنا كلنا

## Questionnaire (A-19)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 38

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو سلوك انساني طيب ناتج عن التربية و البيئة التي نشأ فيها الشخص

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو عدم احترام الشخص لنفسه و للآخرين و التصرف بشكل غوغائي وهو ناتج عن سوء التربية و البيئة التي نشأ فيها الشخص

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو كلام مبطن يقال بشكل معين و يراد منه معنى اخر قد يكون معنى طيب أو سيء

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

أحيانا للتخلص من موقف معين أو طلب شيء من شخص لا تربطني به علاقة مباشرة قوية

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أفضل الكلام الغير مباشر و ذلك نظرا لطبيعتي و شعوري بالخجل في أحيان و مواقف كثيرة

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدثت إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

تحدثت مر الى صهري قبل زواجه من شقيقتي حيث كنا قد حددنا موعد الفرح و لكن توفيت أمه قبل الفرح بشهرين فكنت محرج جدا أن أسأله عن موعد الفرح هل سيتم تأجيله أو لا فتحدثت معه بطريقة غير مباشرة عن هذا الموضوع ففهم المقصود و أجابني.

## Questionnaire (A-20)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 25

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

الادب هو سلوك الشخص العام و علاقته بالقوانين و اللوائح و العادات و التقاليد العامة

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

هو التصرف المخل بالاداب العامة من تصرف أو رد فعل أو ماشابه

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو الي يراد به كلام اخر غير الذي نطق به أو كلام يقصد به المنى البعيد

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

هي التي عادة ما تكون الكلام المباشر يؤدي الى نتائج غير مرغوب بها

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

نعم و ذلك لانهم لايجيدون المواجهة سواء سلبا ام ايجابا

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

غير المباشر لان نتائج الكلام المباشر قد تؤدي الى ردود فعل قد تكون غير محبذة أو غير مرغوبة

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

عندما يتحدث شخص على المبادئ و على التصرفات غير المرغوب فيها و هو في نفس الوقت يتصرف أو يتعامل بعكس هذه المبادئ فانه من المخرج أن توصل له انطباعك عليه بصورة مباشرة لذلك فان الكلام غير المباشر هو أفضل حل

## Questionnaire (A-21)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 46

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

في اعتقادي كلمة الادب كلمة عظيمة لان الادب صفة ملزمة للمسلم لان الادب يزكي النفوس و يهذب الاخلاق و يلين القلوب

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

من وجهة نظري قلة الادب هي عدم احترام الانسان لنفسه و ذاته و أيضا عندما يسمح الانسان لنفسه بالتعدي على حقوق الاخرين

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام غير المباشر هو الكلام الذي لا يكون حسب المعنى مباشرة و في العادة يكون كلام عام

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

عادة تكون عندما توجه نصيحة أو نقد لشخص لتصرف صدر منه عدة مرات فتحاول أن تنوه بكلام غير مباشر يدور حول الموضوع لتجنب احراجه

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

في اعتقادي في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أفضل الكلام المباشر في معاملاتي لان باعتقادي الكلام المباشر يؤدي الى الوضوح أكثر و ان يكن في بعض الاحيان قاسي

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

يوجد صديق لنا يريد ان يتزوج و قد تقد لفتاة و تم القبول من حيث المبدأ و عند قراءة الفاتحة طلب منه بعض التحاليل و تفاجأ ان لديه الهيئاتايس فرفضت الفتاة الزواج به فأخبروني أصدقائي عما حدث لصديقنا و طلب مني الاتصال به و التخيخ عن مصيبتة فحاولت أن أنوه عن الموضوع بطريقة غير مباشرة بضرب الامثلة لعدة أشخاص يتعايشون مع الامراض و حياتهم مستمرة وليست هذه حد الدنيا و كان ذلك دون أن احسسه بأني أعرف عن مرضه و كانت الهدرزة بشكل عام وحسيت ان معنوياته ارتفعت من خلال كلامه و تفاعله مع الحديث و صرح لي في نهاية الهدرزة بأن صار معه كذا و كذا

## Questionnaire (A-22)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 43

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

هو حسن الخلق و احترام الغير

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

قلة الادب هو عدم احترام الغير و كذلك عدم مراعاة من هم أكبر سنا و عدم أخذ النصيحة منهم

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

الكلام الغير مباشر الذي يجرح الشخص سواء كان فيه أو لا هذا الكلام لا يخرج الا من شخص جبان و متكبر و صاحب فتنة

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

أهم المواقف عندما يخطئ شخص ما فمن الواجب نصحه و ارشاده الى الصواب من غير احراج أو اذى بطريقة غير مباشرة

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

الكلام الغير مباشر عامة عند الليبيون يكون في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

أنا أفضل الكلام المباشر لأنه الانسب في جميع المواقف طذلك لانه يبعدك عن المجاملة و النفاق

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).



أذكر أحد المواقف عام 1996 عندما ذهبت لأجراءات تعييني في إحدى الشركات النفطية و تم إنهاء الاجراءات وكنت أحمل بكالوريوس هندسة ميكانيكية و عندما رأى رئيس القسم أنني أحمل شهادة فخاف على مكانه فما كان منهم الا ابلاغي بطريقة غير مباشرة لما يفضى مكان في الكادر الوظيفي سوف نبعث لك تستلم عملك و للأسف مازلت أنتظر حتى اليوم...

### Questionnaire (A-23)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 28

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

التهذيب يتمثل عندي في عدة معاني وأهمها السمو في الاخلاق و قلة المجادلة وفرض الرأي و حب السيطرة و الغاء شخصية الطرف الاخر مهما كان ضعيفا

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

عدم التهذيب من وجهة نظري الشخصية هو الانتقاص من حقوق الاخرين و التعالي و عدم مراعاة شعور الناس و كذلك التدخل المفرط في شؤون الغير

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو ما نستخدمه عادة للوصول للآخرين بفكرة معينة أو اعطاء الرأي في موضوع باستخدام قدر كبير من التفاصيل التي قد يراها البعض كلام غير مباشر وأحيانا لا تستحق بعض المواضيع مثل هذه المداخل

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

بالنسبة لي استخدمه أحيانا لتجنب الاجابة المباشرة في مواضيع قد تخرجني أو تخرج الطرف الاخر و الكلام غير المباشر يعتمد في تفسيره على ذكاء الشخص الموجه له عادة

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

ارجح المقطع الثاني

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

كليبية حسب الظروف و الحالة الا ان ميولي دائما للكلام المباشر كأفضل طريقة للتعبير. "خير الكلام ما قل و دل"

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

مرة أنا وأختي كنا مقعمرين في الصالة شوية مرة خوي اللي ساكنة بجبنا خشت علينا و قالت لأختي "اليوم عازمة علي أبلات معاي في المدرسة, تعالي هدى تغدي معانا" طبعا أختي رفضت لأنها شافتها اهانة ليا. ما صح وجهها.

## Questionnaire (A-24)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 37

الجنس: ذكر

الجنسية: ليبي

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

حسن الخلق في الكلام و المعاملة الطيبة بصفة عامة

2- عرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

عدم التربية والتعامل مع الآخرين بطريقة سيئة و غير مقبولة

3- عرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

كلام منقول او ملمح به لشخص معين أو مقصود.

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

التلميح أو ارسال رسالة لشخص مقصود

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

على حسب الشخص

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

استخدم الكلام المباشر لأنه أوضح و أصدق في المعاملة مع البشر

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

الموقف التي تحدثت فيه بطريقة غير مباشرة كان في الخطب الجُمعية أثناء أحداث ثورة 17 فبراير فاستعملت اسلوب التورية في الخطاب الديني للناس لابين لهم أن الثورة ستنتصر وخاصة في الدعاء وكانوا أفراد الامن جالسين ولم يفهموني هل أنا من المؤيدين أم من المعارضين للثورة .

## Questionnaire (A-25)

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر: 30

الجنس: أنثى

الجنسية: ليبية

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

اللباقة في الكلام و زنه قبل التفوه به ومراعاة مشاعر الآخرين عند التفوه بأي موضوع

2- عرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

وضع الكلام بمعنى و بدون معنى و عم الشعور بالآخرين أو التدخل في شؤونهم دون استئذان

3- عرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

هو اللف و الدوران حول الموضوع أو الوخز بالابرزي ما نقولوا

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

في بعض الموضيع المحرجة التي لا يستطيع ايصالها للطرف الاخر أو عند ايصال معلومة معينة لابناني فيها نوع من الخجل أو الاستحياء

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب, أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب

6- كليبي (ليبية), هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

الكلام المباشر يكون جارح أحيانا لكن يكون مطلوب خاصة في المعاملة و لكن بعض الاحيان الكلام الغير المباشر يكون كصورة مؤدبة عند ايصال نقد ما أو شئ لا يعجبني لشخص ما

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص, المكان, الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

الامثلة كثيرة مثلا في مرة من المرات أردت اكمال دراستي و عندما تحدثت مع زوجي في هذا الموضوع لم يقل لي لا أو نعم أكتفى بقوله ستكونين النهار كله برا و من يهتم بالعيال شوفي مرة فلان انفصلوا بسبب القرابة حسيت انه كلام غير مباشر بعدم القبول باكمال دراستي لان رسالته وصلنتني بطريقة غير مباشرة.

## **Appendix (B): English Questionnaire**

In this section, 25 British informants' (13 females and 12 males) responses to the English questionnaire are presented. These responses start on page 38 and end on page 69.

### Questionnaire (B-1)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 49

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Respect, patience and tolerance

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Opposite of politeness

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Generally, evasive or vague.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Of people I know it happens but depends on the context - anger, embarrassment, insecurity, and so on. it is perhaps used most frequently in extreme situation - but my experience is quite narrow, I'd have thought.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

No idea.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Overall and mostly, direct forms, because I'd know where I stand and it saves time.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

At work, indirectness takes the form of withholding or obscuring information. A recent example was criticising a colleague without passing on the criticisms to them directly.

## Questionnaire (B-2)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 43

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

I see it as a question of communicating and behaving in a way which takes account of the needs, sensitivities, and emotional state of 'the other person' (or people) that you are interacting with, in a positive way which is intended to acknowledge their implicit importance as a human being. There are norms – culturally situated – which different groups of people tend to adhere to (or not!), such as holding the door, using words like 'please' and 'thank you'. It's culturally situated – so that British (English, particularly) people in Spain seem to the Spanish to have a quaint way of saying 'thank you' six times at a supermarket checkout. Politeness is a sort of exchange of 'tokens' of communication.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

It's an active process of consciously or unconsciously deciding not to obey these cultural norms of politeness when you are (or should be) aware of them. It can be done as a 'statement of self' in that it is situated in a sense of one's own self worth, or as a comment on the other person/people, in that it positions the other people as 'worth less' or not worthy of politeness.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

In all sorts of ways, but I think (from the context) that you are focusing on a way of communicating in which there is an expectation that (a) saying the thing directly is somehow rude, or impolite, and (b) the other person/people will be able (or 'should' be able) to infer



what it is that you mean even if you don't say it directly. Given that English (British English) is so full of idiom and the need to infer pragmatic meaning from something that semantically appears to mean something very different, this (indirectness) is very much a core part of how 'we' communicate.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

It depends. In normal speech, I think indirectness is used a lot. Amongst friends, or in a supportive, positive context, it's often an aspect of politeness. So you might, if asked 'what do you think of Fred?', say 'he's OK, I suppose', and it's up to the listener to infer whether you mean you like him or you don't – and the interpretation of this can depend on the viewpoint of the listener, so that the statement 'he's OK, I suppose' is designed to allow the listener to choose an interpretation – if they wish – that fits with their own world view. But it can also be used as a tool to be impolite – especially if done with an 'audience'. So, for example, if someone publicly asks a question, you can give an indirect answer that you know the audience will understand in one way – a pragmatic meaning – which is both different from the semantic meaning and different perhaps from the way that the person asking the question might interpret the answer. This can be a sort of 'put-down', in that the audience is aware that you are more intelligent / savvy than the questioner.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I think we use directness more in normal speech, in that most of our utterances are fairly straightforward. But I believe that we tend to use indirectness much more than many other languages and cultures. (For example, Indian English tends in my experience to use less indirectness than British English.)

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

It depends on the circumstances. In straightforward situations, I prefer to use directness for simple communications – for example, "could you pass me that knife?", or "I need to just

reach past you”. But I think that indirectness is one of the very good cultural aspects of ‘our’ very rich language and culture, and adds nuance and colour to the ways we communicate.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Recently a colleague was upset because her printing to our work printer was being held up by some printing that someone else had sent (this was me!): a large job. Instead of asking something like “does anyone know whose is the large job printing at the moment – I need to interrupt it”, she instead said something like “Oh my god, there’s a large printing job going through” and carried on going round huffing and puffing for a minute or two and walking round the area with an exaggerated air of distress and impending disaster. She didn’t directly ask who was printing, or if anyone could help with her problem. What she was trying to do (unconsciously or consciously) was get someone to feel sorry for her, and possibly help her to sort out the problem, without directly talking to the only two people who could have been responsible for the large print job and asking them if she could interrupt it.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-3)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 34

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Politeness means complying with standard expectations of respect and recognition of other people's needs, particularly in dealing with strangers.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Ignoring other people's needs and acting as though they do not matter

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Using wordings which avoid explicit judgements or conclusions.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both – indirectness when being polite is normal and everyday. Indirectness when being impolite is often an attempt to hide impoliteness as very often impoliteness is direct.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Both, depends on the context.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I prefer indirectness but this isn't a strong preference. The less direct wording feels less authoritarian – and for me links to a sense of equality and social justice.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Two situations waiting with other people.

In one context sitting waiting to speak to someone at a reception desk where I said “Would you like to go first”

In another context standing to get off a train where I said “Go ahead” – more direct (both shorter and more directive) because a decision was needed quickly so that other people were not delayed – though that feels rather like an attempt to rationalise this afterwards.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-4)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 23

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

being considerate

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude. Being inconsiderate

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Talking around the issue, not getting to the point.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both, depending on the situation

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

people in authority use directness more, lower people use indirectness more

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

For information purposes- direct, for criticism indirect

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

a lady was complaining to a stranger about me + my family, whilst we could hear. If she had a problem about what we were doing she should have spoke to us, not let us know by speaking with in ear shot of us.

### Questionnaire (B-5)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 21

Sex: Male

Nationality:

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Someone who says please or thank you

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Someone who is rude or doesn't say please or thank you

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Someone who skirts around the main point they want to make

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

polite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

indirect, as sometimes think people who are direct can come across rude sometimes

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When I was weighing someone and needed to say in a nice way they need to lose weight but didn't want to offend them, so I got my point across in around-about way.

### Questionnaire (B-6)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 38

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Showing concern for the other person's feelings, making sure the interaction goes smoothly without conflict.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

A selfish attitude. When someone doesn't care about the person they're interacting with as long as they get what they want

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Subtleness

4- Do you think British people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I live in France and am often taken aback at how direct (and often "impolite") French people can be so I suppose the English must be more indirect and "polite" compared to the French.

6- Do you, as an English person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Again it depends on the context. I'd say I use more direct forms with my family and close friends and indirect with people at work or in shops etc. It also depends on the person I'm talking to – I have some colleagues who I have to be indirect with and others who I can just ask things directly. So I suppose direct forms are more natural for me.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I was sitting in a café (in France) the other day and a grandfather trying to get past with his grandchild in a pram said "Can't you move your chair?" in what I thought was an aggressive way (I had my back to him so hadn't seen him). I replied sarcastically "yes of course, seeing as you asked so nicely!". He sat down near us and a few minutes later our children / grandchildren were playing together and he was smiling at us and being friendly. I think he didn't think that he had been impolite so for him there was no problem and perhaps he hadn't understood my British sarcasm so wasn't angry at me.



### Questionnaire (B-7)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 45

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being civil and considerate (as understood through convention) to others, especially in speech, but also in action (queuing in an orderly fashion in the UK, for example)

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

The opposite of the above (breaking the conventions of accepted speech - not saying "please" and "thank you" in shops; pushing in to a queue)

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Responding to a question through circumlocution; avoiding saying explicitly what can be implied - either to avoid hurting the feelings of the other; or to avoid having to take sides or adopt a position.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Hmmm... not sure. But, I think indirectness is typically a way of trying to be polite rather than rude (indeed, directness itself may be deemed rude, perhaps)

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

My experience is that indirectness is probably more common.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

It depends, but I'm probably more given to indirect address. The reason would be that directness can be seen as aggressive and rude (by me as much as by any implied interlocutor)

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

That's a surprisingly direct request, given the topic! A classic example is when I know someone has had a haircut, and I am not altogether sure it is a good one, I would likely commend the colour and avoid discussion the style. Although, that might be outright avoidance as opposed to indirectness.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-8)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 47

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Using linguistic methods to align behaviours to meet expectations that those behaviours are evaluated as appropriate

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Intentional or interpreted as face threat/harm/attack

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Any speech act whose function isn't that of the formats expectations of the syntax

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Polite – yes

Impolite - often

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I don't know what I prefer – it depends on who is talking to me.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I was trying to get my admin to order me a filofax diary and planner. Admin sent the request to line manager. Line manager sent me an e-mail: 'Sorry to be mean Andrew, but could you buy your own filofax and planner?' I replied 'I'm guessing that's a non-epistemic modal'.

### Questionnaire (B-9)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 30

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being considerate and kind

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude + abrupt

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not being direct in approaching something

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

polite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I don't know

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

It depends on the situation

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When my mother asks me to 'put the kettle on' she really means 'make me a cup of tea'!

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-10)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 27

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Socially appropriate behaviour

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Socially inappropriate behaviour

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not saying what you mean

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

polite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I don't really know. Honesty is a good thing

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you,

'Do you want a biscuit?' Directness

'There are the biscuits'. Indirectness.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-11)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 57

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being careful to show courtesy and respect to others – considering the effect of your behaviour and attitudes on people

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude discourteous, disrespectful, inconsiderate.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Being evasive.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

In general I prefer more direct forms of communication, but with courtesy and respect shown on both sides.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Sorry, can't think of an example right now. Perhaps the people I deal with are generally direct in the way we speak to each other

### Questionnaire (B-12)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 50

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being pleasant and courteous

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

The opposite of politeness sharp with replays.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When people skirt around what they are trying to say

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Directness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

direct, because you know where you stand with someone

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Trying to get a quote for home repairs builders are not able to give you a time or date when they can come + and give quote. Saying things like 'um' not sure when I can come, I will give you a call when I check my diary. Then no call comes.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-13)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 26

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being considerate to other people, having respect to everyone, saying please and thank you.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

General rudeness.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not saying exactly what you mean straight away.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Usually when they trying to say something that may be misconstrued as impolite, but they wish to sound polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I think a mixture of both – generally I think they are more indirect

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Direct because you know where you stand with people and it's possible to say exactly what you mean without being rude.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When I lived in Singapore for two years, some of my lifelong friends didn't keep in touch very often, which upset me. I spoke to one of my friends about this after a while, and she is good friends with one of the girls who behaved like this. When I mentioned this girl's



behaviour to my other friend, she defended her saying 'I think when you both speak she doesn't want to feel like you are angry at her, she just wants to have a nice chat'. What my friend was indirectly telling me was this girl had obviously mentioned not contacting me and that she knew I would be annoyed and wanted to talk to me without me confronting her about it – probably because she felt guilty

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-14)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 45

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being respectful, kind.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude, short, not listening, not responding appropriately

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Avoiding eye contact.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Yes, instead of being rude, English people will avoid the situation.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness (to avoid being rude)

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I prefer receiving direct, but don't always like to be direct if it means I will be mean/ rude.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Does my bum look fat in this?

No, it complements your curves!

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-15)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 32

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Treating people with respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Communicating in a way that disrespects people

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Communicating in a way that allows ambiguity

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Yes, they are often being polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness more.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

both direct when does in non-judgemental way, indirect, when does to save face

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

How interesting? meaning anything from the literal meaning to polite boredom.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-16)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 52

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Different meanings in different contexts, e.g. could mean acknowledging and valuing other people or it could mean a politeness code in a tokenistic way.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Causing offence or upset, or, again some contexts might consider the use of particular impolite when in fact the intention is not to cause offence.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When meaning is derived as an implicature rather than (only) from the proposition expressed in an utterance. Also when communication is covert.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Yes, sometimes.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

I don't know many other cultures in enough depth. However, British people tend to be indirect in requesting things compared to Spanish people, but can also be direct to speakers in a way that would be considered rude by Spanish people.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

I think compared with the average British person I'm slightly irritated sometimes by tokenistic politeness and the indirect forms associated with it.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I once had a friend tell me about a situation a friend of hers was in and what she should do about it. It was a few days later when I realised she was really talking about me. very annoying!

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-17)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 17

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

To have good manners

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Someone who is rude

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When someone is not straightforward in their request or comment.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness- to avoid unpleasantness or confrontation

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Directness as it avoids confusion.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When someone was hinting that they wanted to share my food by saying 'that looks nice' repeatedly.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-18)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 42

Sex: Female Male ☒

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

treating somebody with courtesy and respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

rudeness

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

A way of communicating in which there is an expectation that saying the thing directly is somehow rude or impolite.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

mostly polite.

5- Do you think English people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

mostly indirect

6- Do you, as an English person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Prefer people to be polite but to get to the point

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

My PhD supervisor to me, many years ago, commenting on a chapter of my thesis: "Very good, Sam, very good. For a moment, indeed, I actually believed it." [This was indirectness, possibly touched with sarcasm].

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-19)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 25

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being kind to someone else.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being rude.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not addressing the person formally

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Both

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Indirect, easier

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

When a person walks off after an argument giving direct looks.

Thank you for your help



### Questionnaire (B-20)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 45

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being sociable to people you don't always know.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not saying thank you or please to people

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Speaking to someone and not looking at them while you speak

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Directness more

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Directness, I will speak to anyone to be friendly

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Mostly in a shop if someone seems too busy can't be bothered to answer you fully.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-21)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 17

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being kind and friendly to others.

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Being mean. Others say you have offended them

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

When you don't speak your mind.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Polite, but it is annoying as not truthful.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Old people use indirectness more.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Direct. It's speaking truthfully. What you really feel

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

My mum's always saying 'your room is untidy' and she means 'tidy it up'. Really annoying.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-22)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:35

Sex: Female

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Treating others with courtesy and respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not treating others with courtesy and respect

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Avoiding unpleasant truths by hinting/ evading rather than going straight to the point.

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

It would depend on context, but generally when being polite.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

British people are generally less direct than Germans/ Israelis for example, but more direct than Japanese/ Chinese pears (as a generalisation).

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Would depend on context – would prefer full truth on medical diagnoses but perhaps delivered kindly with a bit of social warning.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I'm sorry, this is a bit vague so hard to think of anything – although this could be an example of indirectness.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-23)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:50

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Respect

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not respecting

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Evasion

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

Both

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Direct, prefer it

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

My partner visited her father in prison. He made her cry. I was trying to support her. She asked me whether her father was bad. I was careful/ indirect in my response.

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-24)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age: 38

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1- Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Paying attention to needs of others, being nice!

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Not being nice.

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Going round the house

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

When being impolite

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

Indirectness

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

Depending on the purpose of exchange.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

Someone said of my thesis 'well, it's not ill conceived!'

Thank you for your help

### Questionnaire (B-25)

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:43

Sex: Male

Nationality: British

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

Being appropriately o the situation

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

Implying something without going right out and saying it

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

Not saying what you mean

4- Do you think English people use indirectness when they are being polite or impolite?

largely when they are being polite – but you can be very mean by speaking indirectly.

5- Do you think British people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

They use indirectness as a way of being polite more than some other cultures.

6- Do you, as a British person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

That would depend on the situation.

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

I was concerned about whether a colleague really understood what to do as he had just taken on something so I asked him how he was getting on - an indirect method of seeing if he understood the job.

Thank you for your help

## Arabic Focus Group Discussion

For the presentation of the data in this study, I used a simplified transcription scheme for improved readability. Transcription conventions are as follows: underlined words indicate emphatic stress; [ indicates overlap; ↑ indicates a rising intonation; ↓ indicates a falling intonation; = indicates the continuity of utterances when someone overlaps or interrupts; (.) very brief pause; (x s) pauses of stated length in seconds; (( )) descriptive symbols that are difficult to describe; ((laughter)) indicates laughter; : indicates the extensions of the sound or syllable.

Since I am transcribing the Libyan Arabic language, which is different from English in terms of script and word order, I followed four steps model of transcription suggested by Mills:

Step 1: I represent Libyan Arabic in its own script.

Step 2: I translate this into a fair equivalent in English using IPA Arabic symbols

.Step 3: I give a literal word by word translation under each word.

Step 4: I give a functional equivalent in English.

Due to the diglossic nature of Libyan Arabic, I encountered some problems in transcribing data. Some of these problems include:

1: Some words used in everyday Libyan Arabic (such as "راه" 'rah'), do not have an equivalent even in standard Arabic which makes translating them into English very difficult. In order to overcome such a problem, I tried to use the nearest meaning to these words and used the brackets = [] to clarify the meaning of such words.

2: Some letters in Libyan Arabic are not pronounced as in Standard Arabic. For example, the letter "ق" 'qaf' is pronounced as /g/ by all Libyan people. However, while letters such as "ث" /θ/ as in 'thin' and "ذ" /ð/ as in 'then' are pronounced as they are in the east part of Libya, they are pronounced differently in the west part; as 't' is used for 'θ' and 'd' is used for 'ð'. Since my informants were from different parts of Libya, I transcribed the letters as they were pronounced by them, except in the case of "ق" where I used 'q' rather than 'g' to follow the transliteration of Arabic sounds that I provided at the beginning of this research.

3: Due to the religious dominance in Libyan society, the name of 'God' is frequently used by Libyans. In such cases, I write what the participants literally said and put the actual meaning between brackets { } to clarify the intended meaning. For example, "والله" 'by God' is frequently used to mean 'really' in English rather than actually swearing to God. However, I also used the brackets { } to clarify some sentences which cannot be understood in English without adding some words that were not uttered by the participants.

### **Appendix (C): Arabic Focus Group Discussion ‘Female Group’**

As I mentioned in Chapter 5, for cultural reasons, it was difficult for me to include Arab males and females in the same discussion. Therefore, a separate focus group was conducted for each group. Here, I present the focus group discussion which I conducted for the Arab female group. Seven participants took part in the discussion. The participants in the study came from different parts of Libya, and their residence in the UK ranged from 10 days to 2 years. I recorded a 59:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included one relative, friends, and friends of friends, most of whom were well-educated. Their ages range from 25 to 59 years old. I labelled the individuals who were presented in the discussion as follows: H: 25 years old; A: 30 years old; S: 34; M: 33 years old; F: 42 years old; N: 45 years old; R: 59 years old; and Zainab: myself. The transcription of this discussion starts on page 73 and ends on page 129.



ز: شن هو الكلام المباشر و غير المباشر و شن	fin	hu:a	alkali:m	muba:fer	wa	yajr	almuba:fer	wa	fin	what	and	the direct	not	and	the direct	what
1-Z	What is direct and indirect speech and what is															

ز: الفرق بيناتهم	alfarq	bainathum	themselves	the difference
2-Z	the difference between them?			

### 1. Defining directness

ف: (2) الكلام المباشر يعني ال اا زي ما نقولوا الهدرة العادية	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	jaʕnj	?al	aa	zaj	ma	nqwl:	ʔalhadirza	?aʕa:di:a	the speech	the direct	the mean	the	as	like	say	wa	talking	the normal
3- F	(2) Direct speech means the aa like, we can say colloquial speech																			

ف: الكلام العادي (.) ما يعني اا ما تقصد من وراءه (.) غير	?alkala:m	?alʕa:dj	ma	jaʕnj	aa	ma	matuqsud	min	wara:h	ʕair	the normal	not	mean	not	you	not	mean	from	it	behind	not
4- F	informal speech (.) I mean aa I just (.) mean																				

[ (أصوات في الخلفية)	
[ ((voices in the background))	

ف: اللي اللي قلته بالزبط يعني (.) الكلام (1) المعنى في الكلام	?illj	?illj	qultah	bizzabit	jaʕnj	?alkala:m	?almaʕnà	fj	?alkala:m	the speech	that	that	it said I	exactly	mean	the speech	the meaning	in	the speech
5- F	exactly what I said, I mean (.) the speech (1) the meaning of speech																		

ف: اللي اا صار (.) فهمتيني (.) الحديث (1) المعنى متاعه (.) يعني مش	?illj	aa	sʕa:r	fhamti:nj	?alhadi:θ	?almaʕnà	mta:ʕah	jaʕnj	miʕ	the speech	understood me	the speech	the meaning	it's	mean	not
6- F	I uttered ↓ (.) OK. (.) the speech (1) its meaning (.) I mean is not															

ح: واضح	wadʕih	clear
7- H	Is clear	

ف: واضح	ماهوش		(.)	ما يبش	تفكير	أو	يعني	باش	ادور
wadʕih	ma:hu:ʃ	aa	majebbi:ʃ	ʔaw	tafki:r	jaʃnj	ba:ʃ	ʔiddawir	
clear	not it no	aa	not want it no	or	thinking	mean	to	look for you	
8- F	It's clear and it's not aa (.) it does not need to think about or, I mean, to look for								

## 2. Defining indirectness

ف: المعنى	متاعه	عادي	كلام (.) بس	الكلام	غير	المباشر	نتوقع
ʔalmaʃnà	mta:ʃah	ʃa:dj	bas kala:m	ʔalkala:m	rair	ʔalmuba:ʃer	nitwaqqaʃ
the meaning	its	normal	speech but	the speech	not	the direct	expect I
9- F	its meaning, it is normal speech (.) but indirect speech, I assume,						

ف: انه يكون	الكلام	اللي (1)	المعنى	متاعه	مخبيء	بين	السطور
ʔinnah	jaku:n	ʔalkala:m	ʔillj	ʔalmaʃnà	mta:ʃah	muxabaʔ	ʔalsutʕu:r
it that	be	the speech	that	the meaning	its	hidden it	lines
10- F	It is the kind of speech whereby (1) its meaning is hidden behind words						

س: تقصد	بيه	شيء	آخر
tuqsʕud	bi:h	ʃajʔ	ʔa:ʒar
mean you	it with	thing	another
11- S	You use it to mean something else		

ف: أو	تقصد (.)	كلام	يعني	مش	هو	نفس	المعنى	اللي	انت
ʔaw	tuqsʕud	kala:m	jaʃnj	mif	hu:a	nafis	ʔalmaʃnà	ʔillj	ʔinta
or	mean you	speech	mean	not	it	same	the meaning	that	you
12- F	Or you mean (.) another meaning other than the one you								

ف: قلته (.)	لازم	يعني	تبحث (.)	أو:::	ادور	على	المعنى	باش
qultah	la:zim	jaʃnj	tabhaθ	ʔaw	ʔiddwir	ʃalà	ʔalmaʃnà	ba:ʃ
it said you	should it	mean	look for you	or	look for you	on	the meaning	to
13- F	said (.) you have to look for (.) o::r find the meaning to							

## 3. Indirectness as 'Making Meanings'<sup>1</sup>

ف: تفهمه	ووو (.) و	نتوقع	الكلام	الغير	مباشر
tafahmah	wa www	netwaqqaʃ	alkali:m	alyajr	ʔalmuba:ʃer
it understand you	and aaa	expect I	the speech	the not	the direct
14- F	to understand it and aaa (.) and I think indirect speech				

ف: يستخدم في	الحاجات	يعني	زي ما	نقولوا: (.)	ضرب	المعاني
justʕdam	fj	ʔilha:ʒa:t	jʃnj	zajma	nqwlū:	almʃa:nj
used	in	the things	mean	as	say we	meanings
					beating	

<sup>1</sup> 'Making meanings' is an expression used by Libyan people to refer to using hints to offend others or send impolite messages.

15-F:	is used for things like (.) 'making meanings' [
<p>ن: الليبيين (غير واضح) ضرب المعاني          ]          ?allibji:n      fd<sup>ʕ</sup>rb      almʕa:nj          Libyans      beating      the meanings</p>	
16- N:	[ Libyan people ((not clear)) 'making meanings' [
<p>س: عندي ضرب المعاني الكلام غير المباشر          ]          ʕindj      d<sup>ʕ</sup>rb      almʕa:nj      alkali:m      yajr      almuba:fer          have I      making      the meanings      the speech      not      the direct</p>	
17- S	[ I see indirect speech as 'making meanings' [
<p>]]          ((ضجة في الخلفية))          [ ((Noise in the background))</p>	
<p>ز: انت توا الكلام غير المباشر يعني ضرب المعاني          ?inti      tawa      alkala:m      yair      almuba:fer      jʕnj      d<sup>ʕ</sup>rb      almʕa:nj          you?      now      the speech      not      the direct      mean      beating      the meanings</p>	
18-Z	For you, indirect speech means 'making meanings'
<p>س: أنا عندي ضرب المعاني ايه مرات انت واحدة ت تحكي          ?ana      ʕindj      d<sup>ʕ</sup>rb      almʕa:nj      ?ajh      marrat      ?inti      t      wahdat      tahkj          I      have I      beating      the meanings      yes      sometimes      you      someone      she talks</p>	
19-S	Yes I see it like that because sometimes someone beside you starts
<p>س: بحداك تبدا تقول في كلام متع معاني هي تقصد فيه          baħdak      tabda      tqu:l      fj      kla:m      mtaʕ      mʕa:nj      hi:a      tuqs<sup>ʕ</sup>d      fi:h          you besides      start she      say she      of      speech      of      meanings      she      mean      in it</p>	
20- S	speaking and 'makes meaning' and she hints at
<p>س: مثلا . عليك انت (0.5)=          ]          maθalan      ʕlajk      ?inti          for example      you about      you</p>	
21- S:	you by her speech (0.5)= [

		ز: امم mm mm
22- Z	[ Emm .]	

#### 4. Using indirectness

		س: =	ما تبش matibbi:sh not want she	تجرحك tazerhek you hurt she	يعني ʔjɛnj mean	أو ʔaw or	مثلا maθalan for example	أو ʔaw or	ما تبش matibbi:sh not want she
23- S	[ = She does not want to hurt you I mean or for example or								

		س: تقولك	انت في وجهك	انت هكي	و هكي	هكي (0.7)	تقوله
		tqu:llik	ʔinti fj	wazhik	ʔinti	hikki	wa
		you to say she	in you	face your	you	like that	and
24- S	she does not want to say directly you are like this or like that (0.7) she says it						

		س: و طبعا	ااا	يعني	فهمتي؟	هكي	نقصد	بيه	اما	الكلام
		wa	t'abʕan	aaa	ʔjɛnj	hikki	nuqs'ud	bi:h	ʔamma	alkala:m
		and	of course	mean	you understand	like that	mean	it of	but	the speech
25- S	and of course errr I mean, understand? this is how I see it, while in 'direct speech'									

		س: المباشر	تجي	لحد	تقوليهوله	في وجهه	يعني (0.5)
		almuba:fer	tʒj	lihad	tqu:lʒhu:lah	fj	waʒhah
		the direct	come you	someone to	him to it say you	in	his face
26- S:	you say it directly to their face I mean (0.5)						

		((غير واضح))
27- S	((not clear))	

		ح: صراحة s'araha frank
28- H	[ Frank	

		ز: معناها	ان	ان	هني	نشوف	معناها	لو	انه	ما دام
		maʕnaha	ʔinna	ʔinna	hnai	nfu:f	maʕnaha	law	ʔinna	madama
		it mean	that	that	here	see I	it mean	if	that	when
29- Z	It means if if here I can guess it means									

ز: ما تبيش      تجرحك      هو      كويس (1) matibbi:sh      tazerhek      hu:a      kwaji:s not want she no      you hurt she      it      good	
30- Z	If she does not want to hurt you it means it is good? (1)

### 5. Indirectness may cause offence

س: هو      كويس      هي      لكن      هي      لكن      انت      في      اللحضة      هديكا      وجعتاك hu:a      kwaji:s      hi:a      lakin      hi:a      lakin      ?inti      fj      allahda      hadika      wiz?atik it      good      it      but      it      but      you      in      moment      that      you offended	
31-S	It is good it but it but you at that moment might feel upset

س: و      مرات      جرحاتك wa      marrat      zerhatik and      sometimes      you hurt it	
32- S	or even deeply hurt

ز: معناها      هي      مش      ما تبيش      تجرحك      هي... m?naha      hi:a      mish      matibbi:sh      tazerhek      hi:a it mean      she      not      not want she no      you hurt she      she	
33- Z	[ So this does not mean she does not want to hurt you, she... ]

### 6. Softening meanings and fear confrontation

م:      تخفيف      المعنى taxfi:f      alm?ná minimizing      the meaning	
34-M:	[ Softening the meaning ]

ح:      الخوف      من      المواجهة al?awf      min      almwa?aha the fear      of      the confrontation	
35- H	Fear confrontation

ز:      يمكن      تكون      ايه taku:n      jumken      ?aih may      be      yes	
36- Z	Maybe, yes [

<p>س: ما تبش          ?inti law hatta maθalan ?aw twazhik matibbi:sh          you if even f or example or you confront she not want she no</p>							
37- S	[ Maybe she does not want to confront you or for example even if you						

<p>س: مثلاً قلتي حاجة تقولك لا أنا ما نقصدش عليك          ?laik nuqs'udeʃ ma ?ana la tqu:lik haʒa qultj maθalan          you about not mean I no I no you say she something said you for example</p>							
38- S	said, for example, something {defended yourself}, she would say <u>no</u> I don't mean						
39-	you,						

<p>س: انت أنا نقصد حد تاني          ?ana ?inti nuqs'ud had tani          I you mean I another one</p>							
40- S	I mean someone <u>else</u> {by my speech}						
	[						

<p>ج: زي المثل متاعنا يقولك الضرب في القطوس والمعنى          almʃná wa alqatʃu:s fj adʃarb jaqu:lik mtaʃna almatal zai          the meaning and the cat on the hitting you to say it our the proverb like</p>							
41- H	As the proverb says, the cat is beaten						

<p>علي العروس          ?alʃaru:s ʃala          the bride about</p>							
42- H	and the bride is meant						

((ضحك))							
((Laughter))							

<p>ج: (0.5) تبدا تلوحاك في كلمات وووو          tabda tlawahlik fj kalma:t www          start she you throw she in words aaa</p>							
43- H	(0.5) Words are thrown towards you and aaa						
	[						

## 7. Indirectness is more common among women

<p>س: هدا عندنا حني في المجتمع النسائي (0.8) هلبة يصير          hada ʃindna hnai fi almuztamaʃ annisaʔj halba jas'i:r          this we are here in the society woman's indirectness is</p>							
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

	happen very much the women the society in we us have this
44- S	[ This is popular especially among women (0.8) it frequently happens ]

	]] ((ضجة في الخلفية غير واضح)) ]
	[ ((Noise in the background, not clear)) ]

	]] ف: ايه في مجتمعا صح Sah mujtamaʕna fj ʔaih right society our in yes
45- F	[ Yes, in our society, right ]

### 3. Interpreting hidden messages of indirect speech

	ح: (2) أنا عندي الكلام المباشر ماليشي الا معنى واحد = wahid maʕná ʔilla maljʃʃ almuba:fer alkalam ʕendj ʔana one meaning only have no the direct the speech have I I
46- H	[ I think direct speech has only one meaning ]

	]] س: بالضبط bizzabit exactly
47- S	[ Exactly ]

	ح: لكن الغير مباشر تحسي كل واحد يؤوله لكلام ثاني (0.7) tanj liklam jʔau:lah wahid kul thissj muba:fer alyair lakin another speech to interpret one every feel you direct the not but
48- H	[ but people interpret indirect speech in different ways (0.7) ]

	ح: أنا نفهمه بوجهة نظري (.) و واحدة ثانية تفهمه tafhamah tanjat wahdat wa nadʕarj biwiʒhaʔ nafahmah ʔana it understand she another one and my point view with it understand I I
49- H	[ I understand it in a way (.) and someone else understands it ]

	ح: بوجهة نظر ثانية مختلفة عليا ʕalaja muxtalifat tanjat nadʕar biwiʒhaʔ me on different another point view with
50- H	[ in another way which might be different from mine ]

ز: (.) باهي كيف نوصلوا للمعنى باهي (2) كيف نوصلوا ] nu:lu: ki:f bahj lilmaʕná nu:lu: ki:f bahj reach we how ok the meaning to reach we how ok						
51- Z	(.) But how can we interpret the intended meaning (2) how can we interpret... [					

ح: كيف ما قتلك كل واحد و تفكيره للوصول ] lilwsʕu:l tafki:rah wa wahid kul qutlik ma ki:f reach to his thinking and one every you to said I what how						
52- H	[ As I said to you, everyone has a different way to interpret					

ح: للمعنى متاعه lilmaʕná mtaʕa meaning the to its	
53- H	its meaning

After 2:18 minutes

9. The role of interactants' relationship in using direct and indirect forms

س: لو جتتي اختي و قالتلي جيبيلي امية مثلا law zitnj ʔuxtj wa qalitlj zjbjlj immaja maθalan if me came my sister and me to said she me to bring for example water						
54-S	If my sister said to me bring me water for example					

س: حتى لو قالتها لي بصيغة الامر ما نزعش منها hatta law qalithalj bisʕiyat ʔalʔamr manizzilʃ minha even if me to it said she form with the order not upset I no her of						
55- S	even if she uses an order form I will not get upset with her					

س: لأنها اختي = ] liʔanha ʔuxtj she because my sister	
56- S	because she is my sister

ف: ايه عادي ] ʕa:dj ʔaih normal yes	
57-F	[ Yes, that is OK.



س:	هذه	دائمة	أنا	و	أياها	مع	بعضنا	في	الحوش (.)	لو
	hadih	di:ma	wa ?ana		?iha	maʕa	bʕdʕna	fj	alhu:f	law
	this	always	I	and	her with	with	together	in	home the	if
58-S	This is me and her with each other always at home (.) but if, for example,									

س:	مثلا	حد	تاني	ما نعرفاش	أو	مثلا	يعني	مش	يعني	مم=
	maθalan	had	tanj	manaʕrafaf	?aw	maθalan	jaʕnj	mif	jaʕnj	mm
	for example	else	no	not know	or	for example	mean	not	mean	mm
59- S	it was someone who I don't know very well or for example I mean not, I mean errr=									

ح:	مش	مقرب	زي	أختي						
	mif	muqarrab	zai	?uxʔj						
	not	close	like	my sister						
60- H	[ Not close like my sister									

س:	= صلة	القربة	بيناتنا	مش	قوية (.)	يستحسن	إنها	تكون	بأدب	
	sʕilat	alaraba	bainatna	mif	qawi:a	justahsan	?innha	tku:n	bi?adab	
	relation	closeness	us between	not	strong	better it	it	be	politeness with	
61- S	[ = We are not very close, it should be said politely									

س:	مثلا	الله	يرحم	والديك	لو	سمحتي	من	فضلك	والا	
	maθalan	Allah	yarham	waldai:k	law	samahtj	min	fadʕlik	walla	
	for example	God	bless	your parents	if	allow you	of	your favour	or	
62-S	for example: may God bless your parents, if you allow = [please (formal)] do a favour									
63	= [please (formal)] or									

س:	معلشني	سامحيني								
	maʕlaiʃj	samhjnj								
	me excuse	me forgive								
64- S	excuse me (informal), forgive me = [please (informal)]									

ز:	بعدها؟ (1.3)									
	baʕdha									
	it after									
65-Z	[ And then? (1.2)									

<p>س: بعدها أكيدة أنا          ]          ?ana ?aki:da baʕdha          I sure it after</p>	
66- S	And then I would say [

<p>ز: جيبلي اميه          ]          immaja ʒɟɟɟɟ          water me to bring</p>	
67- Z	[ Bring me water

<p>س: ايه بعدين          ]          baʕdain ?aih          later yes</p>	
68- S	Yes later [

<p>ز: هو هدا المغزى يعني هو الامر=          ]          ?al?amr hu:a jaʕnj almayz hada hu:a          the order it mean the meaning this it</p>	
69- Z	[ That is what I mean it is an order [

<p>أ: عندنا حني          ]          hnai ʕindna          we us have</p>	
70-A	[ we have this

<p>ز: = موجودة (.) تستعملي ألفاظ أو ما تستعملش          matistaʕimli:ʃ ?aw alfaðʕ tistaʕimlj mawʒu:da          not use you no or expressions use you exist it</p>	
71- Z	It happens (.) whether you use {polite} expressions or not

<p>أ: ايه          ?aih          Yes</p>	
72- A	Yes

After 7:46 minutes

### 10. Using indirectness for criticism

م:	بالنسبة	لينا	نحن	في	مجتمعنا	الليبي	عندنا
	binnisba	li:na	nahna	fj	muztamaʕna	ʔalli:bj	ʕindna
	regard with	us to	we	in	our society	the Libyan	have we
73- M	For us as Libyans						

م:	الكلام	المباشر	في	الاجتماعات	العادية	في	الكلام	العادي (0.5)
	alkala:m	almuba:ʕer	fj	alʔiztimaʕa:t	alʕadi:a	fj	alkala:m	alʕa:dj
	the speech	the direct	in	the gatherings	the normal	in	the speech	the normal
74- M	we use direct speech in informal gatherings in informal speech (0.5)							

م:	الغير	مباشر	لما	نبي	ننتقد
	ʔalyair	muba:ʕer	lamma	nibbj	nuntaqid
	the not	direct	when	want we	criticize we
75- M	indirect speech is used when I want to criticize {someone}				

	أ: أيوه
	ʔaiwah
	Yes
76- A	[ Yes ]

	ن: اممم صح
	Sah emm
	Right emm
77- N	[ emm right ]

#### 10.1. An example using indirectness for criticism

م:	هكي	نحن	الليبيين (.)	نتذكر	زمان	كانت	عندنا	كنت
	hikkj	nahna	alljbj:i:n	nataðakkar	zman	kanit	ʕindna	kunt
	like that	we	the Libyans	I remember	ages ago	was	have we	was I
78- M	That is how indirectness is used by Libyans (.) I remember there was... when I was							

م:	أنا	ندرس	في	مدرسة (0.5)	في	ليبيا	في	البليضا (0.5)	كنت	أنا	ندرس
	ʔana	ndarris	fj	madirsa	fj	li:bya	fj	albaidʕa	kunt	ʔana	ndarris
	I	teach I	in	school	in	Libya	in	Albaida	was I	I	teach I
79- M	teaching at a school (0.5) in Libya in Albaida {Libyan city} (0.5) I was teaching										

م: في مدرسة مديرتها فيه واحدة من المدرسات دبشها	
fj madrasa mudi:ritha fi:h wahda min almudarrisat dbaʃha	
in school its headmaster from one of the teachers her clothes	
80- M	at a school whose the {female} head teacher didn't like one of the {female} teacher's

م: مش عاجبها (0.7) نحن كنا نلبسوا في (0.6) نلبسوا طويل نلبسوا	
mif ʕaʒibha naħna nalbsw fj nalbsw tʃwi:l nalbsu: fj	
not it like she we were we in wear we long wear we in wear we	
81- M	clothes (0.7) we used to wear (0.6) we used to wear modest clothes

م: جاكات هكي طوال (0.5) فيه واحدة من المدرسات (0.7) متاعها	
zakkat hikkj tʃw:al fi:h wahda min ʔalmudarisat ʔalmalabis mtaʃha	
jackets like long in it one of the teachers' clothes (0.7) were not the type	
82- M	like long jackets (0.5) one of the {female} teachers' clothes (0.7) were not the type

م: مش عاجبة المديرة مش على مزاج المديرة (1) جت المديرة	
mif ʕaʒba almudi:ra ʕla mif mazaʒ ʔalmudi:ra zat almudi:ra	
not like the headmaster mood on not the headmaster came she the headmaster	
83- M	of clothes the head teacher likes (1) one day the head teacher said

م: أهلا أيلة (ف) كيف حالك شن أخبارك قالتها والله اليوم	
ʔahlan ʔabla ki:f F ʔabla ʔaltilha wallahi aljawm	
hello miss how your health what your news her to said she God by today	
84- M	'Hello miss (F) how are you how is it going', and then she said to her, 'today

م: في طابور الصباح ماعرفتكنش (1.3) نحسابك واحدة من	
fj tʃabu:r alsʕabaħ maʕaraftikɪʃ naħsabik wahda min	
in queue the morning not you know I no you thought I of one	
85- M	in the morning assembly I didn't recognize you among other high school's

م: البنات متاع الثانوي	
ʔalbanat mtaʕ ʔalθanawj	
the girls of high school	
86- M	{female} students, I thought you were one of them'

ز: اممم ايه	
emmm ʔaih	
emmm yes	
87- Z	Emmm yes

ف: شن معناها هده ((ضحك))	
fin maʕnaha haði	
what mean it this	
88- F	What does that mean ((laughter))

<p>م: فوصلت لها fawas<sup>f</sup>litlha her to reached she</p> <p>الكلام ?alkala:m the speech</p> <p>بطريقة bitaria way with</p> <p>غير yair not</p> <p>مباشرة muba: fira direct</p>					
89- M	[ So she conveyed her message to her in an indirect way				

After 23 seconds

11. Using indirectness for making polite requests

<p>ف: أو حتى في الطلب (0.7) لما ?aw hattá fj ?alt<sup>f</sup>alab lamma or even in request when something request you will come you</p>							
90- F:	Or even in requests (0.7) when you ask for something (0.7)						

<p>ف: و تحسي روحك متحشمة في طلبتها مباشرة (0.4) تبدي wa thissj ru:hik mithafma fj t<sup>f</sup>ulbitha muba:fartan tabdj and feel you your self shy you of it request directly start you</p>							
91- F	and you feel reluctant to request it directly (0.4) you start						

<p>ف: تشرحي في الحاجة لين هي تلتقطها صح والا taf<sup>r</sup>rhj fj alhaga lai:n hi:a tulqut<sup>f</sup>ha s<sup>f</sup>ah walla explain you of the something until she she it catch she right not or</p>							
92- F	explaining it until the hearer understands the meaning, right?						

		م:	بالزبط bizzabit <sup>f</sup> exactly	أيوه ?aiwah yes
93- S	[ Yes exactly [			

<p>ف: فهي تعرض عليك فهمتيني ]</p> <p>fahi:a tuʕrudʕ ʕalaik fahamtjnɟ ]</p> <p>she offer on you me understood you</p>				
94- F	<p>[</p> <p>So she offers {to help you}, understand?</p> <p>[</p>			

م:	هل	تستعملي	الكلام	هذا	مع	أختك	والا	أمك؟
	hal	tistaʕmlj	alkala:m	haða	maʕ	ʔuxtik	walla	ʔummik
	do	use you	the speech	this	with	your sister	or	your mother

95- M	Do you use such speech with your sister or your mother? [
-------	--

	س: لا هداك طول la hadaka t <sup>h</sup> u:l no that straight away
96- S	[ No, that would be direct

	ف: ايه اكثر شي يكون مع حد يكون مثلا هو فيه يكون jaku:n fi:h hu:a maθalan jaku:n had maʕa jaku:n faj akθar ʔaih be it in he for example be someone with be thing more yes
97- F	Yes it is mostly used with people who we have

	ف: قرابة معاه (0.4) زي انا مرة خويا او (.) بنت عمي (.) qara:ba maʕah (0.4) zaj ʔana mart ʕu:ja ʔaw bint ʕammj closeness him with I like my brother wife or my uncle girl
98- F	a relationship with (0.4) like my sister in law or (.) aaa my cousin (.)

### 11.1. An example using indirectness for making polite requests

	ف: مرات حتى اختي والله (.) متحشمة منها يعني ما يجيش hattá aux <sup>tj</sup> wallahi mithaʕma minha jaʕnj majzi:f even my sister God by I shy her from no come not
99- F	sometimes even with my sister, I'm serious (.) sometimes I feel reluctant

	ف: نقولها مثلا انا اليوم انا بن (0.5) مثلا بنحط ظنايا nqu:lilha maθalan ʔana aljawm ʔana bin (0.5) maθalan binhut <sup>ʕ</sup> ʔanaja her to say I for example I today I will I for example I leave my children
100-F	to just say to her: today I will aaa (0.5) for example I will leave my children with you

	ف: عندك والا كذا (0.3) نجي نقول والله انا عندي مشية للمكان الفلاني ʕindik walla kaða nzi nqu:l ʔana wallahi ʕindj maʕja lilmaka:n ʔalfulanj or you at so on I come I God by I have I going the place to that
101- F	or something like that (0.3) instead I would say I have to go to that place

	ف: و هكي (0.4) و ماني عارفة وين نحط الصغار و هكي نراجي في عرض wa hikkj wa ʕa:rfa manj wa wai:n ʕard <sup>ʕ</sup> fj nra:zj hikkj wa and like that and I know where I leave children and I wait offer of
102- F	and so on (0.4) and I don't know who to leave my children with and so on

	ف: منها تقولي تفصلي والا حاجة فهمتي والا minha tqu:lj tafadʕalj walla haʕa fahamtj walla her from me to say by all means or something or you understood
103- F	and I am waiting for an offer from her, to say by all means or

ف: هاتي هاتي نعطهم عندي (.) علاش اتعبي في روحك والا كذا	
kaða walla ru:hik fj ʔittaʃbj ʃala:ʃ ʃindj nhutʃhum hatj hatj	
something or yourself of trouble you why me at them put I give give	
104- F	leave them leave them I will look after them (.) why you are troubling yourself or

ف: خليم عندي و أنا ما عندي ما ندير و فاضية و كذا (.)	
kaða wa fadʃja wa ndi:r ma ʃindj ma ʔana wa ʃindj ɣalli:him	
so on and free I and do I what I have not I and I have them leave	
105- F	something like that leave them with me and I have nothing to do and I am free and

ف طبعا من الاول بتقولي لا و ما نبيش نكثرك عليك	
ʃalaik nkaθar manibbi:ʃ wa la bitqu:lʃ ʔalʔawal min tʔabʃan	
you on burden I not want not and no say you will the first from of course	
106- F	so on (.) of course at the beginning you would say: no I don't want to trouble you

ف: لكن انت عارفة في النهاية انه هو	
hu:a ʔinnah annihaja fj ʃa:rfa ʔinti lakin	
it it that the end in know you you but	
107- F	but you know that at the end it... [

ن: بالزبط ايه	
ʔaih bizzabitʃ	
yes exactly	
108- N	[ Yes exactly

((ضجة في الخلفية))	
((Noise in the background))	

ف: عندنا الحاجات ايه	
ʔahi:ah ʔalhazat ʃindna	
this the things we have	
109- F	These things are common {in our culture}

## 12. Fear confrontation and reactions are reasons for avoiding directness

ن: ما هو حني ماعندناش مواجهة (0.3) ما نقدروش نواجهوا حني	
hnai mahu: maʃindnaʃ mwazaha maniqidru:ʃ hnai nwazhu:	
we because we have not confrontation we not able no we confront	
110- N:	Because we don't have the ability to confront others, we cannot confront others [

<p>ف: تخافي من ردة الفعل          ]          ?alfiʕl raddat min tɣafj          the reaction of fear you</p>	
111- F	<p>[          We fear reactions          ]</p>

<p>ح: تخافي من ردة الفعل          ]          ?alfiʕl raddat min tɣafj          the reaction of fear you</p>	
112-H	<p>[          We fear reactions          ]</p>

<p>ن: تخافي من المواجهة و ردة الفعل كله نخافوا منه          min tɣafj almu:azaha wa ?alfiʕl raddat kullah nɣafu: minnah          of fear you confrontation and the reaction it all it of fear we</p>	
113- N	We fear confrontation and reactions, we fear all these things

After 1:36 minute

13. Using indirectness for revenge

<p>ز: باهي مع من نستعمل الغير مباشر اماله؟          bahj maʕa min nistaʕmil ?alyair muba:ʕer immala          ok with who use we the not direct then</p>	
114- Z	So who do we usually use indirect speech with then?

<p>س: أنا هكي نشوف مرات تستعمليه مع حد يعني هو سابقا          ?ana hikkj nʕu:f marra:t tistaʕmli:h maʕa had jaʕnj hu:a sabiqan          I like I sometimes see I use you with someone mean he previously</p>	
115- S	I think it is sometimes used with someone I mean who used it before

<p>س: دارهالك جرحك          ]          zurhuk darhalik          you hurt he you to did he</p>	
116- S	to hurt you ]



<p>         ]          ز: ايه مني مني الحد هذا          ]          hada alhad minj minj ?aih          this the someone who who yes       </p>	
117- Z	<p>         [          Ok, like whom like whom          ]       </p>

<p>         ]          س: مثلا يعني          ]          jaʕnj maθalan          mean for example       </p>	
118- S	<p>         [          For example I mean          ]       </p>

<p>         ]          ز: الاقارب مثلا          ]          maθalan ?al?aqarib          for example relatives       </p>	
119- Z	<p>         [          Relatives for example?          ]       </p>

<p>         ]          س: ايه حد من الاقارب مثلا مثلا ايه          ]          ?aih maθalan maθalan ?al?aqarib min had ?aih          yes for example for example relatives from someone yes       </p>	
120- S	<p>         [          Yes one of the relatives for example, for example yes          ]       </p>

<p>         ]          ز: حماواتك؟          ]          hamawatik          your sisters in law       </p>	
121- Z	<p>         [          Your sisters in law?          ]       </p>

س:	] حماواتي حتى بنات عمي مثلا يعني فرضا مثلا انا ] ] ʔana maθalan faradʕan jaʕnj maθalan ʕammj banat hattá _hamawa:tj I for example supposedly mean for example my uncle girls even my sisters in law
122- S	[ My sisters in law or even my cousins for example I mean for example I [

ح:	] او حتى صديقة ] ] sʕadi:qa hattá ʔaw friend even or
123- H	[ Or even a friend [

### 13.1. An example of using indirectness for revenge

س: ايه صديقاتي مثلا هي في موقف سابق جرحتني مثلا maθalan zurhitnj sabiq mawqif fj hi:a maθalan sʕadjqa:tj ʔaih For example me hurt she previous event in she for example my friends yes	124- S
Yes my friends for example in a previous situation hurt me for example	

ز: اها aha aha	125- Z
Aha	

س: انا عندي واحدة هكي يعني في موقف سابق جرحتني يقعمزوا jqafmzu: zurhitnj sabiq mawqif fj jaʕnj hikkj wahda ʕindj ʔana sitting they they me hurt she previous event in mean like one I have I	126- S
I used to have {female} friends who hurt me in a previous situation while sitting in a group	

س: مع بعض مجموعة (.) و قالو كلام انا حسيت يقصدوا بيه انا ʔana bi:h juqusʕdw hassait ʔana kala:m qa:lu: wa mazmu:ʕa baʕdʕ maʕa I it of mean they felt I I speech said they and group together with	128- S
together and they said something I felt I was meant by it	

س: (0.6) طبعا انا ممكن لعدة اسباب اول حاجة ما نبيش مشكلة muʕkla manibbi:ʕ h:aʒa ʔwal ʔasb:ab liʕiddat mumkin ʔana tʕabʕan problem not want no thing first reasons many for may I of course	129- S
(0.6) of course maybe for many reasons, first of all I didn't want to create a problem,	

س: ما نبيش نواجه (0.6) يعني درت روحي ماسماشاش و خلاص (0.5)	manibbi:f nwazah jaʕnj dirt ru:hi: masmaʕtaʃ wa ʕalasʃ
not want no face I mean myself did not it heard I no	
131- S	I didn't want to face them (0.6) I mean I pretended I didn't hear it (0.5)

س: فيه موقف ثاني يعني صارلي موقف و حسيت ان انا	mawquf fi:h tanj jaʕnj sʕarlj mawquf wa hassait ʔana ʔinna
it in another event mean me to happened and I felt that I	
132- S	there was another situation, I mean, happened to me and I felt

س: في هديك اللحضة نقدر نجرهم (0.5) قلته بطريقة غير مباشرة يعني	hadi:k fj allaħdʕa niqdir nizraħhum qwltah bitʕariqa ʕair muba:fra jaʕnj
that in moment I was able I them hurt I it said I way with not directly mean	
133- S	that I was able to hurt them at that moment (0.5) I said it in an indirect way I mean

ز: رديتيها نفس الشيء يعني	raddjtjha nafs alfaj jaʕnj
it replied you same the thing mean	
134- Z	[ You got even with them, didn't you?

س: مسحت على كبدي ((ضحك))	kabdj ʕala mashat
my liver on wiped I	
135- S:	I retaliated ((laughter))

[[ ((ضحك)) ]	
[ ((laughter))	

ز: ((ضحك)) انتقام يعني ((ضحك))	ʔintiqam ʕintiqam jaʕnj
revenge mean	
136- Z:	[ ((Laughter)) revenge, wasn't it? ((laughter))

After 2:23 minutes

14. Which is more polite: directness or indirectness?

ح: هو أكثر تهذيب الغير مباشر يعتبر (1.2) أكثر من المباشر almuba:fer min ?aktar juʃtabar muba:fer alyair tahdi:b ?aktar hu:a the direct than more regards it direct the not polite more it	
137- H	Indirect speech is regarded to be more polite (1.2) more polite than direct speech

	ز: كيف؟ ki:f how
138- Z	How?

ح: لان المباشر أنا نقولها لك الكلمة تجرحك ما تجرحكش matizurhikif li?anna almuba:fer ?ana nqu:lhalik alkalma tizurhik ma tizurhikif not you hurt it no you hurt it the word you to it say I I the direct because	
139- H	Because in direct speech I say it directly whether it hurts you or not

ح: ما نراعيش فيها مشاعرك (.) لكن الغير مباشر نحاول بقدر الامكان ?al?imka:n biqadir nhawil muba:fer alyair lakin mafaʃrik fi:ha manraʃi:f the possibility extent to try I direct the not but your feelings in it not care I no	
140- H	I don't care about your feelings (.) but in indirect speech I try, as possible as I can,

ح: ان أنا مان (0.5) ما نخليكش تزعلي مني ?inna ?ana man manxalli:kif tazaʃlj minnj that I not you not you let no upset you me from	
141- H	[ not to (0.5) make you feel upset with me

	ن: لكن يا زينب zainab ja lakin Zainab oh but
142- N	[ But Zainab [

	م: هي بناء على نيتك hi:a binaʔan ʃala ni:tik it depend on your intention
143- M	[ It depends on your intention [

<p>ز : هي بناء على نيتك شني          ]          finj ni:tik ʕala binaʔan hi:a          what your intention on depend it</p>	
144- Z	<p>[ It depends on what your intention is          ]</p>

<p>ن: لكن يا زينب حني =          ]          hnai zainab ja lakin          we Zainab oh but</p>	
145- N:	<p>[ But Zainab we =          ]</p>

<p>ف: بالزبط تعتمد          ]          taʕtamid bizzabit<sup>ʕ</sup>          depend it exactly</p>	
146- F	<p>[ Exactly, it depends          ]</p>

<p>ن: = حني نقولوا الواحد لما يقولك اللي بيبك          ]          hnai nqu:lu: alwahid lamma jaqu:lik ʔillj jibi:k          we say we the someone when you to say he who you want</p>	
147- N	<p>[ = We say when someone says to you, whoever likes you will criticize you directly</p>

<p>ن: يقولك الكلمة في وجهك (0.8) ما يقولها لكش من وراك          ]          jaqu:lik alkalma fj wazhik majqu:lhalikʕ min warak          you to say he the word in your face not you it say no of you behind</p>	
148- N	<p>and won't criticize you behind your back</p>

### 1. Fear confrontation is one reason for avoiding directness

<p>ز: ايه علاش تقوليها لأختك عادي مثلا          ]          ʔaih ʕalaʕ tqu:li:ha liʔuxtik ʕa:dj maʕalan          yes why it say you sister to normal for example</p>	
149- Z	<p>So why you find it fine if you criticize your sister directly for example</p>

		ن: ايه ʔaih Yes
150- N	Yes	

		ح: لأن عارفة أختي مش حتفهمني غلط ان هي والا walla hi:a ʔinna yalutʰ hatafhamnj mij ʔuxʔj ʕa:rfa liʔanna or she that wrong me understand she will not my sister know I because
151- H	because I know that my sister will not misunderstand me, she or she won't get	
152-	upset with me	

		ح: هي بتاخذ موقف و تقولي ما عايش نبي نكلمك بكل والا walla bukkul nkalmik nibbj maʕadif tqu:llj wa mawuqif btaxid hi:a or never you speak I want I not will no me to say and attitude take will she
153- H	and she won't say I'll never talk to you any more or ...	

		ز: خايفة من العواقب معناها انت ʔinti maʕnaha alʕwa:qib min ʕa:fa you it mean consequences of fear you
154- Z	[ You fear consequences then	

		ح: خايفة امالا شني فيها خوف ʕa:jfa ʔimmala ʃinj ʕawf fi:ha afraid I then what fear it in
155- H	I fear of course there is some risk	

After 28 seconds

#### 16. Indirectness may create misunderstanding

		أ: فيه اللي يقولك حاجة غير مباشرة مثلا (0.6) و بعدين baʕdai:n wa maθalan muba:ʃira yair haʒa jaqu:lik ʔillj fi:h later and for example direct not something you to say he who it in
156- A	Sometime someone says something indirectly for example (0.6) but then	

		أ: يندم عليها أنا صايرتلي أنا (0.5) شخصيا (0.5) والله ما = ma wallahi ʃaxsʕjan ʔanan sʕajritlj ʔana ʕalajha jandam not God by personally I me to happened it I it on regret he
157- A	regrets saying it this happened to me (0.5) personally (0.5) and I really didn't=	

		ز: ] تتفهم غلط ] yalat <sup>f</sup> tanifhim wrong understood it
158- Z	[ it is misunderstood ]	

		أ: = ما عندي أي نية سيئة بيها ] bi:ha sajʔa ni:a ʔaj ʕindi: ma it of bad intention any I have not
159- A	[ I didn't have any bad intention ]	

		ف: ] لأن عندنا حني فكرة الكلام غير المباشر almuba:fer yair alkala:m fikrat hnai ʕindna liʔanna the direct not the speech notion we we have because
160- F	[ Because we have the notion of indirect speech ]	

		أ: إيه ʔaih yes
161- A	Yes	

After 1:21 minute

17. Using a third person to send a hidden message

		ح: و قد يكون الكلام غير المباشر انتك انتك تمدهي tamdihi ʔinti ʔinnik almuba:fer yair alkala:m jaku:n qad wa praise you you you that the direct not the speech be might and
162- H	And indirect speech might be used to praise someone	

		ح: شخص بوجود شخص انتك انتك مقصودة فيه ادمي انتك شخص ʔinti ʔinnik maqs <sup>f</sup> u:da fi:h ʔiddimmj ʔinti faxis <sup>f</sup> biwuzu:d faxis <sup>f</sup> you you that intentional him of criticise you person availability with person
163- H	in the presence of a person you criticize deliberately	

		ح: تمدهي في شخص تاني (.) ان انت غلط ] yalat <sup>f</sup> ʔinti ʔinna tanj faxis <sup>f</sup> fj tamdihi wrong you that another person of praise you
164- H	by praising another person to show that he is wrong ]	

] ز: باهي انت بكري قلتي ان انا ما نبيش (.) لانه اقل (0.7) يعني (0.8) jaʕnj aqal liʔannah manibbi:ʃ ʔana ʔinna qwltj bakrj ʔintj bahj mean less it because not want I no I that said you earlier you ok	
165- Z	[ But you said earlier that I don't want (.) because it is less (0.7) I mean (0.8)

ز: مايجرحش الانسان زي ما نقوله مباشر (.) باهي انا في ال في اللحظة هده hadi ʔillahðʕa fj ʔil fj ʔana bahj muba:ʃer nqu:lah ma zaj ʔalʔinsan mazaʒrahjʃ this the moment in the in I ok direct it say I as like human not hurt it no	
166- Z	it doesn't hurt people like when I say it directly so I in the in the this moment

ز: لما نبي ندم شخص بمدحي لشخص ثاني tanj liʃayisʕ bimadhj ʃayisʕ nadim nibbj lamma another person to praising with person criticize want when	
167- Z	when I want to criticize someone by praising another person

ح: ايه ʔaih Yes	
168- H	Yes

ز: مش نجرح فيه بجديات و هو يفهم فيا (1.3) مش نجرح فيه وال walla fj:h nazrah miʃ fi:a jafhim hu:a wa biziddi:a:t fi:h nazrah miʃ not or him of hurt I not me of understand he he and seriously him of hurt I not	
169- Z	don't I deeply hurt him and he understands me, (1.3) don't I hurt him↑ or what↓

ح: هو انا ما قلتهالاش مباشرة = ] muba:ʃara maqulthala:ʃ ʔana hu:a directly not him to it said I no I it	
170- H	But I didn't say it directly = [

] ز: ايه ] ʔaih Yes	
171- Z	[ Yes [



<p>ح: = انا دميتته↓ = ]  dammaitah ?ana ?innj  him criticized I me that</p>	
172- H	[ = that I criticized him↓ = [

<p>ز: هو بتجرحه ]  bitazrhah hu:a  him hurt it will he</p>	
173- Z	[ he will be hurt [

<p>ح: = انا نشكر في شخص تاني (0.9) نبيك انت افهم الكلام هذا  hada ?alkala:m ?afham ?inta nibbi:k tanj fayis<sup>f</sup> fj nuʃkur ?ana  this the speech understand you you want I another person of thank I I</p>	
174- H	[ = I praise someone else (0.9) I want you to understand that this conversation

<p>ر: (0.6) راه عليك  ʃalaik rahw  you on it</p>	
175- R	is about you

<p>ح: زي ما قتلك بكري الضرب في القطوس والمعنى على العروس  alʃaru:s ʃala almʃná wa alqatʃu:s fj adʃarb bakrj qutlik ma zaj  the bride about the meaning and the cat on the hitting earlier you said I like</p>	
176- H	As I earlier said to you the cat is beaten and the bride is meant = {Libyan saying}

<p>ز: ايوه (. ) باهي و هذا بيجرحها والا لا  la walla bijazrahha hada wa bahj ?ajwah  not or her hurt it will this and ok yes</p>	
177- Z	Yes (. ) so will this hurt her or not

<p>ح: أكيد بيجرحها أكيد  ] ʃaki:d bijazrhha ?aki:d  sure her hurt it will sure</p>	
178- H	Of course it will hurt of course [

		] س: يجرح يجرح ايه ] ?aih jazrah jazrah yes hurt it hurt it		
179- S	[	It hurts it hurts yes [		

### 18. The role of intention and intonation of speech

		] ف: قصدي النية فيه النية النية tagrah tibbj hi:a ?innah ?inni:a fi:h ?innah qas'dj hurt she want she she that the intention it in the intention my mean						
180- F	[	I mean it is 'intention', she wants intentionally to hurt {someone} [						

		] ح: هي على النية متاعك فهمتي (.) تبني تجرحيه تجيبهاله tzjbjhalah tazirhi:h tibbj fahamtj mtafik ?anniah ?ala hi:a him to it bring you him hurt you want you understand you of intention on it						
181- H	[	It is up to your intention right, if you want to hurt someone you will find a way [						

		] م: هي على النية و برضو على طريقة الالتقاء (.) حتى على ?ala hatta ?al?ilqa? t'ari:qat ?ala bard'w wa ?anniah ?ala hi:a on even the saying way on also and intention on it						
182- M	[	It is up to the intention and also to the way of saying it (.), to the way [						

		] م: طريقة الالتقاء و نبرة الصوت t'ari:qat wa?al?ilqa? wa nabrat als'u:t way the saying and intonation voice				
183- M	[	of saying it and the intonation [				

After 3:43 minutes

### 19. Using indirectness for deniability

		] ح: لكن الكلام المباشر (0.5) خلاص انت قاصدتيه الكلام المباشر ?almubla:fer ?alkala:m qas'iddi:h ?inti ?alas' ?almubla:fer ?alkala:m lakin the direct the speech it mean you you that is it the direct the speech but						
184- H	[	But direct speech (0.5) you already meant what you said, in direct speech you can't [						

		] ما عايش فيه مرجع = marza? fi:h ma?a:dif getting back it in not		
--	--	--	--	--

185- H	deny what you said = [
--------	---------------------------

<p>ز: معادش      ندور      وراه [ wara:h      ndawir      maʕa:diʃ it behind      look for I      not</p>	
186- Z	[ I won't look behind words [

<p>ح: الغير مباشر (0.9) قد      تكون      ان      انا      حتى      لو      انت      فهمتي      غلط alʕair      muba:ʃer      qad      taku:n      ʔana      ʔinna      hatta      law      ʔinti      fhamtj      ʕalutʕ the not      may      be      I      that      even      if      you      understood      wrong</p>	
187- H	[ Indirect speech (0.9) it might be that even if you misunderstood me

<p>ح: تقدر      نجي      نقولك      راه      اسمعي      راه      مش      قصدي      زي      ما      انت niqder      nzj      nqu:lik      rah      ʔasmʕj      rah      miʃ      qasʕdj      ma      ʔinti      zaj can I      come I      you to say I      like      listen      like      not      I mean      as      you      like      you</p>	
188- H	I can say to you: listen I didn't mean as what

<p>ح: فهمتي      والا      مش      قصدي = [ fahamtj      walla      miʃ      qasʕdj understood you      or      not      my mean</p>	
189- H	you understood or I didn't mean = [

<p>ف: فيه      نقطة      رجوع [ fi:h      nuqtat      ruʒu:ʕ it in      point      backward</p>	
190- F	[ it is deniable [

<p>ح: = تقدر      ترجعي      فيه = [ tiqidrj      tarʕj      fi:h can you      get back you      it in</p>	
191- H	= You can deny it = [

<p>س: مش عليك انت          ]          ?inti ?alaik mif          you you about not</p>	
192- S	<p>[          It was not about you          ]</p>

<p>ح: = تقدر ترجعي في كلامك          ]          kalamik fj tar3?j tiqidrj          your speech in get back you can you</p>	
193- H	<p>[          = you can deny what you said          ]</p>

<p>ز: حتى لو انت قاصدة          ]          qas'da ?inti law hatta          mean you if even</p>	
194- Z	<p>[          Even if you meant it          ]</p>

<p>ح: حتى لو انت قاصدة          ]          qas'da ?inti law hatta          mean you if even</p>	
195- H	<p>[          Even if you meant it          ]</p>

<p>ز: ((ضحك))          ]</p>	
196- Z	<p>[          ((Laughter))          ]</p>

<p>ح: حتى لو انت قاصدة =          ]          qas'da ?inti law hatta          mean you if even</p>	
---	--

197- H	[ Even if you meant it = ]
--------	----------------------------------

	ن: تقدري تلعبى بيه ] bi:h talaʃbj tiqidrj it with play you can you
198- N	[ You can play with {words}

	ح: =انك انت (0.4) أنا قصدي بنجرك فيه الكلام اهو (.) و حسيت ان انت ʔinti ʔinna hassait wa a:hu:ah alkala:m fi:h bnazerhik qasʃdj ʔana ʔnti ʔinnik you that felt I and this the speech it in you hurt I mean I I you you that
199- H	That you (0.4) I mean to hurt you by this speech (.) and I felt that

	ح: ردة الفعل متاعك قوية نقدر نجى نقولك اسمعى راه مش زي ما ma zai mij rah ʔasimʃj nqu:lik nʒj niqder qawi:a mta:ʃik alfiʃel radat like as not like listen you to say I come I can I strong your reaction
200- H	your reaction was strong I can say to you listen it wasn't as you understood

	ح: فهمتي غير خيرك انت (0.3) راك فهمتيني غلط (.) نقدر نرجع (.) narʒaʃ niqdir ralutʃ fahamtinj rak ʔinti ʒairik ʔair fahamtj get back I can I wrong me understood you you you why just understood you
201- H	what is wrong with you (0.3) you misunderstood me (.) I can deny it

	ز: صح صح صح عندك نقطة رجوع عندك نقطة رجوع صح ] sʃah ruʒu:ʃ nuqtaʃ ʃindik ruʒu:ʃ nuqtaʃ ʃindik sʃah sʃah sʃah right backward point you have backward point you have right right right
202- Z	Right right right it is deniable it is deniable right ]

### 19.1. An example using indirectness for deniability

	س: مثلا أنا زمان صارلى موقف مع صاحبتى يعنى فهمتي (.) fahamtj jaʃnj sʃahibtj maʃa mawqi f sʃa:rlj zaman ʔana maʃalan understood mean my friend with event me to happened once I for example
203- S	For example, the other day a friend of mine I mean

	س: من النوع اللي ديمة تلقح في الدوة يعنى ت تجرح فيا ] fi:a tazrah t jaʃnj addu:a fʒj tlaqqah di:ma ʔillj annu:ʃ min me in hurt she sh mean meaning in use she always that the kind of
204- S	right she is the kind of person who always uses meanings I mean she hurts me ]

		الصحاب als'ha:b friends	ونعم waniɣma good	ز:
205- Z	how good a friend she is			

		((ضحك)) ]
	((Laughter)) [	

		س: يعني هي مش صاحبتني صاحبتني s'a:hibtj s'a:hibtj mij hi:a jaɣnj my friend my friend not she mean
206- S	[ I mean she wasn't a close friend ]	

		ز: توا هده حتى هي غير مباشر ] muba:fer yair hi:a hatta hadj hadj tawa direct not it even this this now
207- Z	So even this this is indirect speech	

		س: علي الكلام غير المباشر يعني = ] jaɣnj almuba:fer yair alkala:m ɣala mean the direct not the speech on
208- S	[ About indirect speech I mean = ]	

		ز: ايه ] ɣaih Yes
209- Z	[ Yes ]	

		س: = فمرة انا قتلها علاش انت ديمة هكي توجعي فيا علاش ɣalaɣ fi:a twaɣɣj hikkj di:ma ɣinti ɣala:ɣ qultilha ɣana famarra why me in me hurt you like always you why her to said I I once
	[	

210- S	= Once I I said to her why do you always hurt me like that why
--------	--

س: ديمة	تقوليلي	كلام	زي هذا	تجرحي	فيا (.)	قالتلي	لا	أنا
di:ma	tqu:li:lǝ	kala:m	haða zaj	tagerhǝ	fi:a	qalitlǝ	la	ʔana
always	me to say you	speech	this like	me hurt you	me in	she	I no	I

211- S	you always say things that hurt me (.) she said to me <u>no</u> I
--------	---

س: مانقصدكش	انت و انت	معناها	ما عندكش	ثقة	في	نفسك	معناها
manuqsdikʃ	ʔinti wa ʔinti	maʃnaha	maʃindikʃ	θiqa	fǝ	nafsik	maʃnaha
not mean I not	you and you	it mean	not you have no	of confidence	yourself	it mean	it mean

212- S	don't mean you and that means you lack self confidence that means
--------	---

(.)	فهمتلي	هي	كيف	دارت
fahamtǝ	hi:a	ki:f	darit	
understood you	she	how	did she	

213- S	(.) do you understand what she did
--------	------------------------------------

ز: امم (0.3)	ولت	عليك	انت (.)	انت	اللي	غالطة
emm	wallit	ʃalaik	ʔinti ʔinti	ʔillǝ	yaltʃa	
emm	she got back	you on	you you	wrong	that	wrong

214- Z	Emm (0.3) she accused you (.) of being wrong
--------	--

After 1:22 minutes

ح: لما	نجي	نلقحها	من	بعيد	تعرفي	هديك	دراه	كبد
lamma	nǝǝ	nlaqahilha	min	baʃi:d	taʃurfǝ	hadika	drah	kabid
when	I come	her use meanings	far from	you know	that one	liver	disgusting	liver

215- H	So when I use meanings I say you know, that person {female} is unbearable ((not clear))
--------	---

ح: لا مش	عليك	انت	نقصدوا	راه (.)	كنا	نتكلموا	علي	واحدة	تانيه	هي
mif la	ʃalaik	ʔinti	nuqusʃdu:	rah	kunna	nitkalmu:	ʃala	wahda	tania	hai
no	you about	mean we	mean we	you	we were	anyway	about	one	another	ok

216- H	no, it is not about you, we don't mean you (.) we were talking about someone else
--------	---

ف: امم	Emmm
217- F	Emmm

ح: مش	عليك	انت
mif	ʃalaik	ʔinti
not	you about	you

218- H	It wasn't about you
--------	---------------------

<p>ز: ايه ايه          ]          ?aih ?aih          yes yes</p>	
219- Z	Yes yes [

<p>ح: خيرك انت مش واثقة فينا والا ما عنكش ثقة في نفسك          nafsik fj θiqa maʕindikiʃ walla fi:na waθqa miʃ ?inti ɣairik          yourself in confidence not you have no or us of confident not you you why</p>	
220- H	what's wrong with you, don't you trust us or are you unconfident

<p>ف: ((ضحك))          ]</p>	
221- F	((Laughter)) [

<p>ز: صح انت ما          ]          ma ?inti sʕah          not you right</p>	
222- Z	Yes you didn't ... [

<p>ح: والا انت كل شي تسمعيه تحسابيه عليك انت (.)          ?inti ʕalaik taḥsabli:h tasimʕi:h ʃaj kul ?inti walla          you you about it think you it hear you thing every you or</p>	
223- H	[ Or anything you hear you think it is about you

<p>س: ايه ايه          ]          ?aih ?aih          yes yes</p>	
224- S	Yes yes [

<p>ز: يعني مش ااا          ]          miʃ jaʕnj          not mean</p>	
225- Z	[ not it means aaa ... [



<p>ح: نقدر نرجع فهمتي ] niqder narʒaʕ fahamtj can I got back I understood you</p>	
226- H	[ I can deny it, understand? [

**20. Using a third person to send a hidden message**

<p>ز: مش لازم مع الشخص نفسه باش باش يفهم الثاني↓ مرات mif lazim maʕa ashayʃsʕ nafsaḥ ba:ʃ ba:ʃ jafham attanj marra:t not necessary with the person to himself to to understand he the other sometimes</p>	
227- Z 228-	[ So it is not necessarily to speak to the target person↑ to to get him to understand↓ sometimes

<p>ز: نتكلم مع واحد تاني(.) نتكلم مع (س) و أنا قصدي     nitkallim maʕa wahid tani(.) nitkallim maʕa (s) wa ana qasʕdj I speak I with one another I speak I and I mean I aaa mean I I and S with speak I another one with speak I</p>	
229- Z	[ I speak to someone else (.) I'm speaking to (S) and I mean aaa [

<p>]] ((ضحك))</p>	
[ ((Laughter))	

<p>ح: مرات نتكلم بالالغاز (غير واضح) marra:t nitkallim bilʔalyaz sometimes speak I mysteries with</p>	
230- H	[ Sometimes I speak vaguely ((not clear)) [

**21. Indirectness is more common among women**

<p>س: و هذه يماكثرها في الجلسات النسائية يماكثرها wa haḏih jamakterha fj ʔalʒalasat annisaʔi:a jamakterha and this it too much in the sittings women it too much</p>	
231- S	[ And this is very frequent within women's gatherings, it is very frequent

After 6:22 minutes

22. Directness is more preferred than indirectness in making requests

س: حسيت لو ان قالتك (.) من فضلك يا زينب صقانة (.)	hassait law ?innah qalitlik min fad <sup>h</sup> lik ja zainab s <sup>h</sup> uq <sup>h</sup> ana
I felt if that you to said she from your favour Zainab cold I	
232- S	I think if she just said please {formal} Zainab turn on the heater I'm cold

س: افتحي الدفاية مودبة أكثر	?aft <sup>h</sup> j ?addiffaja mu?addaba ?aktar
open the heater polite more	
233- S	it would be more polite

ز: هي مستحيلة (ن) تقولي من فضلك	hi:a mustahi:la tqu:llj min fad <sup>h</sup> lik
it impossible she me said to from your favour	
234- Z	it is impossible for (N) to say please {formal} to me

ر: بكرى لاهية قائلها افتحي التدفئة والله الا صقنا	bakrj lahja qultilha ?aft <sup>h</sup> j ?ttadfi'a wallahi ?illa squ <sup>h</sup> na
earlier busy she I her to said the heater open God by but cold we	
235- R	I said to her earlier to turn on the heater by God [really] we are very cold

23. Using 'please' in making requests is not necessary

أ: يا ودي ما عندناش من فضلك والله الا غير زيادة نحس فيها انا	jawiddj ma <sup>h</sup> indna:š min fad <sup>h</sup> lik wallahi ?illa yair zjada nhiss fi:ha ?ana
I love not we have no from favour by God but just addition I feel I it in	
236- A	But love we don't use please {formal} by God [really] I think it is unnecessary

<p>س: عندنا والله الا نقولوا معليشي يا اخويتي =</p> <p>ʔuxajtj ja maʕlaiʃj nqu:lu: ʔilla wallahi ʕindna my sister oh excuse me say we but God by we have</p>	
237- S	[ We use it by God = [really] we say excuse me {informal} my little sister <sup>2</sup>

<p>أ: والله ما فيه</p> <p>fi:h ma wallahi it in not God by</p>	
238- A	[ By God = [really] it is not used

<p>س: = لو سمحتي (غير واضح)</p> <p>samahtj law allowed you if</p>	
239- S	[ = Please {formal}

<p>أ: باهي معليشي باهي معليشي</p> <p>maʕlaiʃj bahj maʕlaiʃj bahj excuse me ok excuse me ok</p>	
240- A	[ Excuse me {informal} is fine excuse me is fine

<sup>2</sup> By sister here, the speaker does not mean her own sister, but she means any woman in her society, because in Islam all Muslims are regarded as brothers and sisters. It should be mentioned that diminutives (e.g. my little sister, my little daughter, this little glass) are common in all Arab societies not just in Libya.

<p>ن: بالله عليك هذه نقولوا فيها بالله عليك          ]          ʕalaik billahi fi:ha nqu:lw hadih ʕalaik billahi          you on God with it in we say this you on God with</p>	
241- N	<p>[          'For God's sake' we usually use it 'for God's sake'          ]</p>

<p>أ: هي كلمة بالله عليك توا الناس داروا (0.3)          ]          aaa daru: ʔanna:s tawa ʕalaik billahi kalamat hi:a          aaa they did the people now you on God with word it</p>	
242- A	<p>[          Even 'for God's sake' is a new used expression, people just nowadays use aaa (0.3)          ]</p>

<p>ح: خشت          ]          ʕafit          it entered</p>	
243- H	<p>it came in {from other cultures}          ]</p>

<p>أ: خشت جديدة          ]          zadi:da ʕafit          new it entered</p>	
244- A	<p>[          it is a new expression exported {to us}          ]</p>

<p>ح: جديدة بالله عليك          ]          ʕalaik billahi zadi:da          you on God with new</p>	
245-H	<p>[          'for God's sake' is new {expression}          ]</p>

<p>أ: زمان ما يقولوش فيها نحس فيها غير توا بدوا          ]          bdu: tawa ʕair fi:ha nhis fi:ha majqulu:f zaman          they started now just it in feel I it in not say they no ages ago</p>	
246- A	<p>[          older generations don't say 'for God's sake' I think, just nowadays people started...          ]</p>

<p>ز: باهي نبي عزايڙ و امهات و جدات شن يقولوا ]</p> <p>jaqwlu: ʃin zaddat wa ʔumahat wa ʕazaiez nibbj bahj</p> <p>say they what grandmothers and mothers and elders want I Ok</p>	
247- Z	<p>[</p> <p>OK, so I want to know what older people, mothers and grandmothers use then</p> <p>[</p>

<p>ح: تربحي يا بنيتي ]</p> <p>bnajtj ja taribhj</p> <p>my daughter oh win you</p>	
248- H	<p>May God bless you my little daughter</p> <p>[</p>

<p>ن: ارحم والديك ارحم والديك ]</p> <p>waldaik ʔarham waldaik ʔarham</p> <p>your parents bless your parents bless</p>	
249- N	<p>[</p> <p>May God bless your parents may God bless your parents</p> <p>[</p>

<p>ح: ارحم والديك ]</p> <p>waldaik ʔarham</p> <p>your parents bless</p>	
250- H	<p>[</p> <p>May God bless your parents</p>

After 2 minutes and 6 seconds

**24. Pretending not understand indirect messages can cause problems**

<p>س: مثلاً أنا واحدة جتني لوحشي و أنا مثلاً لاهية</p> <p>lahja maθalan ʔana wa lihu:ʃj ʒitnj wahda ʔana maθalan</p> <p>busy for example I and my house to me came she one I for example</p>	
251- S	<p>For example, if someone came to my house and I was busy and not</p>

<p>(0.7) ما (0.4) محسيتش = ]</p> <p>maħassaitij ma</p> <p>not felt I no no</p>	
252- S	<p>not (0.7) I didn't feel =</p> <p>[</p>

<p>ز: مانتبهتس ] mantabahtif not notice I no</p>	
253- Z	<p>[ I didn't notice [</p>

<p>س: = مانتبهتلاهش و هي مثلا تبي حاجة (0.8) و هي مثلا maθalan hi:a wa ĥaza tibbj maθalan hi:a wa mantabahtilħaf for example she and something want she for example she and not her to notice I no</p>	
254- S	<p>[ I didn't notice what she wanted (0.8) and she for example</p>

<p>قالتها و أنا مثلا مش فطينة باش ن (0.6) نفهمها و روت rawhit wa nifhimha n ba:ʃ fat'i:na miʃ maθalan ʔana wa qalitha went she and her understand I un to clever I not for example I and it said she</p>	
255- S	said it {indirectly} and I'm for example not intuitive to un (0.6) understand her and
256-	she went back home

<p>و تقول والله ما مثلا ماحطتليش حتى اميه والله ما دارتلي madaritlj wallahi ʔimmi:a ĥatta mahutʕitli:ʃ maθalan ma wallahi taqu:l wa me did she no by God water even not to put she no for example no by God say she and</p>	
257- S	she might say by God = [really] she didn't, for example, even offer water to me by
258-	God = [really] she did not do anything for me

<p>(0.5) لو هي قالتها احسن أنا نحسها يعني احسن ماتروح و تتكلم tatkalim wa matrawah ʔaħsan jaʕnj nhissha ʔana ʔaħsan qalithalj hi:a law speak she and back home better mean it feel I I better me to said she she if</p>	
259- S	(0.5) I think it would be better if she just said what she wanted directly I mean
260-	better than she went back home and talking

<p>عليا لو قالتها أفضل ʔfdʕal qalithalj law ʕali:a better me to said she if me about</p>	
261- S	about my negligence it would be better if she said it directly

After 1:03 minutes

**25. Directness is more preferred in making requests**

<p>ح: هو والله المباشر رغم عيوبه يعني رغم انه هو مرات marrat hu:a ʔinnah rayem jaʕnj ʕju:bah rayem ʔalmuba:ʃer wallahi hu:a sometimes it it that although mean its shortages although the direct by God it</p>	
262- H	By God = [really] direct speech, despite its faults I mean despite it is sometimes

جارج	الكلام	المباشر	الا	انه	هو	<u>افضل</u>	من	الكلام	غير	المباشر
]										
ʔalmuba:fer	yair	ʔalkala:m	min	ʔafdʕal	hu:a	ʔinnah	ʔilla	ʔalmuba:fer	ʔalkala:m	za:rih
the direct	not	the speech	than	better	it	it that	but	the direct	the speech	hurting
263- H	hurting, it is <u>better</u> than indirect speech									
[										

]										
ف:ايه	حتى	عادي	مثلا	اااا	نحس	فيه	الجو	صقع	شوية	يا زينب شن
ʕin	Zainab	ja	ʕwaja	sʕaqaʕ	ʔalzaw	fi:h	nhis	aaaa	maθalan	ʕa:dj hatta ʔaih
what	Zainab	oh	little	cold	the weather	it in	feel	I	aaaa	for example normal even yes
264- F	[ Yes, it is fine for example aaaa {if you said} I feel a bit cold Zainab what									

]										
رايك	تفتحي	الدفاية (.)	لو	قلت	اا	مثلا	صقع	و	هكي	انا
ʔinnj	hikkj	wa	sʕaqaʕ	maθalan	aa	qultj	law	addiffaja	tafithj	rajik
I	like	and	cold	for example	aa	said you	if	the heater	open you	your opinion
265- F	[ if you turn the heater on (.) if you just said aa for example it is cold or so I									

بنتحشم					أكثر	من	]] ((غير واضح))					
aa					min	ʔakθar	binthafem					
aa					than	more	shy will I					
266- F	would feel embarrassed more than aa ((not clear))											

			هكي	صح	عندي	انا	لا	حتى		
			hikkj	ʕindj	sʕah	ʔana	hatta	la		
			like	I have	right	I	even	no		
267- A	Yes me too, right, I agree									

ف: اممم										
Emmm										
268- F	Emmm									

]										
((غير واضح))										
((Not clear))										
[										

]										
أ:	ماهو	تقولك	افتحي	الدفاية↑	و	خلاص↓	ليش	اللف↑	و	الدوران↓
										]
	addawara:n	wa	ʔallaf	laif	χalasʕ	wa	addaffaja	ʔafethj	taqu:lek	mahw
	the turning	and	the spinning	why	enough	and	the heater	open	you to say	she just
269- A	[ why don't you just say turn on the heater and that is it, why are you going↑ around↓									
	[									

	<p>ج: تبّي تحسسك ان انت راك انت مقصرة في حقها =</p> <p>haqqha fj muqas'ra ?inti rak ?inti ?inna thasasik tibbj</p> <p>her right in delinquent you you you that you that you feel she want she</p>
270- H	<p>[</p> <p>She may want to make you feel that you are not doing your duty towards her =</p> <p>[</p>

	<p>أنا نحس ((غير واضح))</p> <p>nhis ?ana</p> <p>feel I I</p>
271- A	<p>[</p> <p>I feel that ((not clear))</p> <p>[</p>

	<p>ج: = و هكي و...ك صقع =</p> <p>s'aqaʃ woook hikkj wa</p> <p>cold ooooooh like that and</p>
272- H	<p>[</p> <p>And so on {so she just says} o:::::h it is cold =</p> <p>[</p>

	<p>((غير واضح))</p>
[	<p>((Not clear))</p> <p>[</p>

	<p>ج: متع انت خيرك ما تبّيش تحسي لين يقولو هال...ك</p> <p>jqu:lu:hali:::k lain thissj matibbi:ʃ xairik ?inti mtaʃ</p> <p>you to it say they until feel you not want you no you good you of</p>
273- H	<p>[</p> <p>like to say: what is wrong with you, do you need to be told directly {to understand}</p> <p>[</p>



] ز: أمل (.) أمل نبي هل هي ليها هي (.) لانها (.) لف و دوران (0.3) ما تبيهاش (.) matibbi:ha:f dawara:n wa laf li?annaha hi:a li:ha hi:a hal nibbj ?amal ?amal not want you no turning and spinning it because it it to it do want I Amal Amal	
274- Z	[ Amal Amal (.) Amal I want to know whether (.) because it is (.) going around
275-	(0.3) you don't like it

والا لانها زي ما قالت حنان (.) كانتك انت ما قمتيش بالواجب (2) bilwazib maqumti:f ?inti ka?innik hanan qalet ma zai li?annaha walla the duty with not do you no you you seem Hanan said like as it because or	
276- Z	or because it is, as Hanan said (.) as if you aren't doing your duty (2)

ا: لا لا بالنسبة ليا أنا نحس فيها لف و دوران (.) حني لغتنا luyitna hnai dawara:n wa laff fi:ha nhis ?ana li:a binnisba la la our language we turning and spinning it of feel I I me to for no no	
277- A	No no for me I feel like it is going around, so why I mean (0.4) our language

أبسط من كونك تلفي و ادوري ?iddu:rj wa tliffj kawnik min ?absat turn you and spin you you being than simpler	
278- A	is simple, so we don't need to go around

((غير واضح))	
((Not clear))	

ا: باهي راجي (.) أنا لو حد قال لي متلا اا يعني (.) ولعي الدفاية طول t'u:l ?addiffaja walli:j ja:nj aaf matalan qa:llj had law ?ana razj bahj directly the heater open mean aaa for example me to said one if I wait ok	
279- A	Ok hold on (.) if someone said to me for example aaa I mean (.) turn the heater on
280-	directly (3)

اا لو حد قال لي هكي طول (.) مش حنزل ليش (.) ما فيش حاجة = ha:za mafi:f laif hanizil mif t'u:l hikkj qa:llj had law aa something not in no why upset I will no directly like me to said one if aa	
281- A	aa if someone said that directly (.) I wouldn't get upset, why (.) there is nothing =

] ف: ايه ] ?aih Yes	
282- F	[ Yes [

<p> ]   س: ايه بالعكس   ]   bilʕaks ʔaih   contrast by yes </p>	
283- S	<p> [   Yes absolutely   [ </p>

<p> ]   أ: = تستدعي يعني   ]   jaʕnj tistadʕj   mean deserve it </p>	
284- A	<p> [   = is worth I mean   [ </p>

<p> ]   ف: قتلك طول أكثر تادب من ال      ]   aa ʔill min taʔadub ʔakθar tʕu:l qwtlik   aa the than polite more direct you to said I </p>	
285- F	<p> [   As I said to you, speaking directly is more polite than the aaa   [ </p>

<p> ]   أ: أيوه (0.5) والا تحسي ان وقعها بايخ علي نفسك هكي تقعدني تقولي ليش   laif tqu:llj tuqaʕdj hikkj nafsik ʕala bajex waqaʕha ʔinna thissj walla ʔaiwa   why say you staying like yourself on vapid it impact that feel you or yes </p>	
286- A	<p> Yes (0.5) or you would feel that it has a bad impact on you and say why </p>

<p> ]   ماتلا قالتلي   ]   matalan qalitlj   for example me to said she </p>	
287- A	<p> she said that to me for example   [ </p>

<p> ]   ن: هي فيه حاجات دون حاجات حاجات دون حاجات (.) فيه حاجات تزعل   tzaʕil haʒa:t fi:h haʒa:t du:n haʒa:t haʒa:t du:n haʒa:t fi:h hi:a   make you upset things it in things without things things without things it in it </p>	
288- N	<p> It depends it depends (.) there are things that make you feel upset </p>

<p>في الكلام المباشر و فيه حاجات لا          ]          la ha:za:t fi:h wa ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m fj          no things it in and the direct the speech in</p>	
289- N	in direct speech and others not [

**26. Using non-verbal language to send indirect messages (an example)**

<p>ف: تعالي نخبرك علي حاجة (0.3) ايه فعلا=          ]          fiʃlan ʔaih ha:za ʃala nɣabrik tʃalɟ          absolutely yes something about you tell I come</p>	
290- F	[ Let me tell you something (0.3) yes absolutely ]

<p>أ: نحس فيها ما          ]          ma fi:ha nɦis          not it in feel I</p>	
291- A	[ I feel that it is not aaa ... ]

<p>ف:بحني عندنا في حاجة (.) لما مثلا مناسبة و يقدموا العشي          alʃafai jqaddmu: wa munasba maθalan lamma ha:za fj ʃindna hnai          the dinner offer they and occasion for example when something in we have we</p>	
292- F	In my town (.) in, for example, an occasion when the hosts offer dinner (0.4) OK

<p>(0.5) قبل ما يقدموا العشي تأخروا في العشي تجي وحدات نساوين          nasawi:n wahda:t tɟj alʃafai fj taʔaxru: alʃafai jqaddmu: ma qabil          women ones come the dinner of late they the dinner offer they that before</p>	
293-F	(0.5) before offering dinner I mean if they were late in offering dinner, some women

<p>يلبسن فراريشهن والا عباياتهن والا جلابيبهن و يطلعن هذه (.) هذه (0.5)          haɔj haɔj jatʃilʃan wa zala:bi:bhin walla ʃaba:ja:thin walla fara:ri:ʃhin jalbsun          this this go out they and their Jilbabs or their Abayat or their ferrashia wear they</p>	
294- F	would put on their Ferrashia <sup>3</sup> or Abaya or Jilbab <sup>4</sup> as if to go home this (.) this (0.5)

<p>أكبر حشمة↑ لأصحاب الحوش↓ (0.3) طريقة غير مباشرة معناها انتم          ʔintum maʃnaha muba:ʃra ɣair tʃari:qa alhu:ʃ. liʔasʃha:b hiʃma ʔakbar          you it mean direct not way home owners to embarrassing biggest</p>	
295- F	is really shameful to the hosts (0.3) it is an indirect way to say that you {the hosts}

<sup>3</sup> A name for a kind of traditional Libyan outer clothes, which covers the whole body, worn by women (particularly older women) over their main clothes before going out.

<sup>4</sup> Abayas and Jilbabs are also a type of hijab, but they are used in many other Muslim countries.

		الواجب = ] ?ilwazib the duty	معانا maʕana us with	ما قدمتش maqaddamtu:f not offer you no
296- F	didn't do your duty [			

			أ: صح حتى حني عندنا ] ʕindna hnai hatta sʕah we have we even right
297- A	[ Right we have this {in my town} too [		

			ف: = تلقينا نجرو:: غير قعمزي ↑ و مش عارف شنو و ندخلوهن لدار معينة muʕai:ana lida:r nduxlu:hin wa finw ʕa:rif miʃ wa qaʕimzj yair niʒru: talqi:na certain room to them enter we and what know not and sit just run we find you
298- F	[ = The hosts would do their best to not let them go, they would say just stay and so		
299-	on and the guests would be taken to a certain room		

			باش كله شن اسمه (.) كان هي خلاص معناها اعتبرت ان هذه يعني (.) قلة qillat jaʕnj haðj ?inna ?iʕtabarat maʕnaha ɣalasʕ hi:a kan ?ismah fin kullah baʕ little mean this that regard she it mean enough she if its name what it all to
300- F	to, I mean (.) if she {the guest} regarded it as, I mean (.) disrespectful		

			احترام والا قلة اداء واجب منا حني (0.4) تطلع (0.3) تبدا عندنا كبيرة ان ?inna kabi:ra ʕindna tabda tatʕlaʕ hnai minana wazib ?ada? qillat walla ?ihtira:m that big we have it start go out she we us from duty doing little or respect
301- F	or not doing the duty by the hosts (0.4) she would go (0.3) and this is seen as		
302-	shaming that		

			هي طلعت titʕaffā ma yair min tʕulʕut hi:a eat dinner not without go out she she
303-F	she went home without having dinner		

			ن: ماهو مرات مازال الوقت ] ʔalwaqit maza:l marra:t mahw the time still 1 sometimes but
304- N	[ But sometimes it is still early for dinner [		

<p style="text-align: right;">] ((غير واضح))</p>	
<p>[ ((Not clear))</p>	

<p style="text-align: right;">] ر: شن مزال كان قالها راجلها هيا كيف بتدير</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">bitdi:r ki:f hai:a ra:zilha qa:lilha kan maza:l fin do she will how come on her man her to said if still what</p>	
305- R	<p>[ But if her husband wanted her to go home what would she do</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">] ف: لا لا قصدي لا فيه اللي مبلعاني تلبس =</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">talbis mbilʕa:nj ʔillj fi:h laʔ qasʕdj la la wear intentionally that it in no I mean no no</p>	
306- F	<p>[ No no I mean there are some women who deliberately put on {their hijab}=</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">] ر: اه ايه</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">ʔa:h ʔaih yes oh</p>	
307- R	<p>[ Ah yes</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">] س: ايه ايه</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">ʔaih ʔaih yes yes</p>	
308- S	<p>[ Yes yes</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">] ف: = تلبس و تطلع (0.3) كيف من قال انت مادرتيش معاي الواجب</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">ʔalwazib maʕaj madirti:ʃ ʔinti qa:l min ki:f tatʕlaʕ wa talbis the duty me with not did you no you said who how go out she and wear she</p>	
309- F	<p>[ =they put on {their Hijab} and go home (0.3) to convey a message that you didn't</p>

310-	do your duty towards us = [
------	--------------------------------

[			
	ماتلا	مقصرين	انتو
	matalan	muqasseri:n	?intw
	for example	delinquent	you
			?a:hw
			that

311- A	[ To say you are delinquent for example [
--------	--

[			
	= فهمتيني	مباشرة	غير
	fahamti:nj	muba:fira	yair
	me understood you	direct	not
			t'ari:qa
			way

312- F	[ =it is an indirect way, understand? = [
--------	--

[			
	عندنا	حني	حتى
	ʕindna	hnai	hattá
	we have	we	even

313- A	[ Yes, we have the same {norm} [
--------	-------------------------------------

[			
	ف: انك	انت	مادرتيش
	tu:zaʕ	?illj	haðj
	hurt	that	this
		it	with
		speak	start
		and	duty
		me	with
		not	did
		you	no
		you	that

314- F	[ = to say that you didn't do your duty towards us (0.5) and they would talk about
315-	that to other people, and this is really hurting

[			
	البيت	اهل	حني
	?albait	?ahl	hnai
	the home	owners	we

316- F	us as hosts
--------	-------------

[			
	كله	خوف	من
	kullah	xu:f	min
	it all	fear	of
		the reaction	

317- M	It is all about fearing reactions
--------	-----------------------------------

ف: ردة الفعل (.) حني هذا هو (.) حني مجتمع مترابط مع بعضه كله خايف من min ʔaif kullah baʔdʰah maʔa mutarabitʰ muʔtamaʔ hnai hu:a haʔa hnai ʔalfiʔl raddat of fear it all together with connected society we it this we the reaction	
318- F	Reactions (.) that is it (.) we are a connected society, we all fear

شن يصير ما بعد baʔd ma jasʔi:r ʃin after happen what	
319- F	what will happen next

## 27. Names for indirectness which is used for impoliteness

ز: باهي الغير مباشر (.) عنده اسم معين في في المنطقة متاعكم؟ (0.7) mtaʔkum ʔalmintaqa ʃj ʃj muʔai:n ʔism ʃindah muba:ʃer ʔalyair bahj your the area in in certain name it has direct the not ok	
320- Z	Ok indirect speech (.) does it have a certain name in in the area where you come
321-	from (0.7)

ن: تلقيح ] talqi:h injecting	
322- N	Injecting [

أ: تلقيح بالكلام حتى حني عندنا ] ʃindna hnai hattá bilkala:m talqi:h we have we even the speech with vaccination	
323- A	[ Injecting in speech we have this name [

ف: تكسير المعكف ] ʔalmʔakkaf taksi:r the bent breaking	
324- F	[ Breaking the bent [

س: تلقيح الدوة و ضرب المعاني ] ʔalmaʔanj dʰarb wa addu:a talqi:h the meaning beating and the speech vaccinating	
--	--

325- S	[ injecting the speech and beating the meanings = {making meaning} ]
--------	--

<p>ف: تكسير المعكف و ضرب المعاني ايه ]</p> <p>ʔaih ʔalmaʕanj dʕarb wa ʔalmʕakkaf taksi:r yes the meaning beating and the bent breaking</p>	
326- F	[ Breaking the bent and beating the meanings yes ]

<p>س: الكلام من تحت هذا نقولوا فيه حني ]</p> <p>hnai fi:h nqwlū: haða taht min ʔalkala:m we it in say we this down from the speech</p>	
327- S	[ Speaking from <u>down</u> this is what we say ]

<p>]] ((اصوات غير واضحة)) ]</p>	
<p>[ ((not clear)) ]</p>	

<p>ف: يبرة مصدية ((ضحك)) ]</p> <p>msʕaddja jebra rusty needle</p>	
328- F	[ Rusty needle ((laughter)) ]

<p>ح: يبرة ايه ]</p> <p>ʔaih jebra yes needle</p>	
329- H	[ Needle yes ]



<p>ف: طز يباري ((ضحك)) ]  jebarj t'az  needles injecting</p>	
330- F	<p>[ Pricking needles ((laughter)) ]</p>

<p>س: من تحت تحت لتحت ]  litaht taht min  down to down from</p>	
331- S	<p>[ From down to down ]</p>

<p>ف: ضربتك هديك البيرة المصدية ((ضحك)) ]  ?alms'addja ?aljebra hadi:k d'urbitlik  the rusty the needle that you to injected she</p>	
332- F	<p>[ She injected you with that rusty needle ((laughter)) ]</p>

<p>ن: عوج (2) ]  ʕawaʒ  curving</p>	
333- N	<p>[ Curving (2) ]</p>

<p>ح: تعوج في الدلاع ]  ʔaddillaʕ fj t'awiz  the watermelon of curve she</p>	
334- H	<p>Curving {the shape of} watermelons ]</p>

<p>م: موارد الكلام توارب الكلام ]  ʔalkala:m twa:rib ʔalkala:m mwaraba  the speech equivocate she the speech equivocating</p>	
335- M	<p>[ Equivocating the speech, she equivocates the speech ]</p>

<p>ف: توارب (0.3) ايه صح  sʰah ʔaih twa:rib  right yes equivocate she</p>	
---	--

336- F	[ She equivocates the speech (0.3) yes right
--------	---

((غير واضح))	
--------------	--

((not clear))	
---------------	--

<p>ز: تعوج في الدلا:ع! بالـ:ق  fj tʰawiz ʔaddillaʕ bilhaq  of curve she really the watermelon</p>	
337- Z	Curving {the shape of} watermelon::ns! Rea::lly

<p>ح: تعوج في الدلاع ايه (0.3)  fj tʰawiz ʔaddillaʕ ʔaih  of curve she yes the watermelon</p>	
338-H	Curving {the shape of} watermelons yes (0.3)

<p>س: لا الحق مانستعملوش فيها حني نقولوا هكي (.) تلقح في الدوة  ʔilhaq la manistaʕimlu:ʃ hnaɪ fi:ha nqwlw hikj tlaqqah ʔaddu:a fj  the fact no not use we we 'it of like vaccinating the speech of</p>	
339- S	No we actually don't use it we say like (.) injecting the speech

<p>تعطي من تحت هكي  hikkj taht min taʕtʰj  like down from give she</p>	
340- S	giving from down, and things like that

<p>((أصوات غير واضحة))  ]</p>	
((not clear))	

<p>ح: في الوجه مرايا و في القفا براية  fj alwazah maraja wa fj ʔalqafa birraja  the face in mirror and in the back sharpener</p>	
341- H	In face to face interaction , she is like a mirror, but on your back she is like a
342-	sharpener

<p>ف: في الوجه مرايا و في القفا براية حق هذه  fj alwazah maraja wa fj ʔalqafa birraja haɖj haq  the face in mirror and in the back sharpener this right</p>	
343- F	In face to face interaction, she is like a mirror, but on your back she is like a
344	sharpener, this is right

After 1:06 minutes

28. Are there any specific names for indirectness that is used for politeness?

لغير	متهذبة (0.4)	متلا؟	عندنا	شن	للتهذيب	متلا	ز: باهي
lilyair	muhaðaba	haza	matalan	ʕindna	ʕin	littahði:b	matalan bahj
not to	polite	something	for example	we have	what	politeness for	for example ok
345- Z	Ok. For example for politeness what do we have for example? Something (0.4)						
346-	polite for indirect						

مباشر (.)	شن	هو (0.9)	اسم (1)	لحاجة	غير	مباشرة
muba:ʕer	ʕin	hu:a	ʔism	liħaza	yair	muba:ʕera
direct	what	it	name	something to	not	direct
347- Z	Speech (.) what is it (0.9) for something indirect					

ف: مؤدب (.) هذا هو	hu:a	haða	muʔaddab
it	this	polite	
348- F	Polite (.) that is it		

ح: مؤدب وجه في وجه (0.4)	wazah	fj	wazah	muʔaddab
face	in	face	polite	
349: H	[ Polite, face to face (0.4)			

ف: ااا قصدك الكلام المباشر والا قصدك الادب	qasʕdik	walla	ʔalmuba:ʕer	ʔalkala:m	qasʕdik	aaaa
the politeness	you mean	or	the direct	the speech	you mean	aaaa
350- F	Aaaa you mean direct speech or you mean politeness					

ز: الكلام غير المباشر (.) الكلام غير المباشر↑ اللي نستعمله للتهديب	ʔalmuba:ʕer	yair	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:ʕer	yair	ʔalkala:m
politeness to	it use we	that	the direct	not the speech	the direct	not the speech
351- Z	[ Indirect speech (.) indirect speech↑ which we use for politeness					

لللتهديب لل لل	littahði:b	lil lil
politeness	to to	
352- Z	For for for politeness	

ح: غير مباشر؟! ] muba:fer yair direct not	
353- H	Indirect?!

ا: كلام غير مباشر! muba:fer yair kalam direct not speech	
354- A	Indirect speech!

ز: ايه كلام غير مباشر (2.7) muba:fer yair kala:m ?aih direct not speech yes	
355- Z	Yes indirect speech (2.7)

ن: مهناش mahna:f not here no	
356- N	Not available

ز: مافيش (.) لانه عندنا هلبة كلمات (0.5) mafi:f li?annah ?indna halba kalimat not here no it because we have lots words	
357- Z	Not available (.) because we have many words (0.5)

ا: كلمة يعني ق قصدك انت مفردات لل ل زي مثلا ] matalan zaj lil lil mufrada:t ?inti qas'dik q ja?nj kalma for example like to to vocabulary you you mean m mean word	
358- A	A word y you mean terms for for like for example [

ز: توا مش عندنا المفردات ابيه ?ahi:ah ?ilmufrada:t ?indna mijf tawa this the vocabulary we have not now	
359- Z	[ Don't we have these terms

م: اسم اسم ] ?ism ?ism name name	
360- M	A name a name [

ف: ((غير واضح))  
]

361- F [ ((Not clear))  
[

ز: مش مثلا انا بنقولك كلام غير مباشر ترا اعطيني اسامي ليه↓  
li:h ?asamj ?aʕtʕnj tra muba:fer yair kala:m binqu:lik ?ana matalan mif  
it to names me give so direct not speech you to say I I for example not

362- Z [ For example when I said give me names for indirect speech↓

طلعتيلي هلبه كلام (.) ضرب معاني و تلقيح  
talqi:h wa maʕanj dʕarb kala:m halba tʕalaʕti:li  
vaccination and meanings beating speech lots me to get out you

363- Z You gave me many words (.) beating meanings and injecting

أ: أيوه  
?aiwah  
yes

364- A Yes

ز: باهي مش قلنا الغير مباشر يستعمل حتى للكلام الكويس للادب  
lil?adab ?alkwai:s lilkala:m hattá justaʕmal muba:er ?alyair qulna mif bahj  
politeness to the nice the speech to to even used direct the not said we not ok

365- Z Didn't we say that indirect speech can also be used for good speech, for politeness  
[

أ: ايه ايه  
?aih ?aih  
yes yes

366- A [ Yes yes

ز: ترا اعطوني مثل  
matal ?aʕtʕu:nj tra  
example me give so

367- Z So give me an example  
[

ف: ماتلقيش  
matalqi:f  
not find you no

368- F	[ Not available
--------	--------------------

After 6:20 minutes

29. Directness is preferred when being criticised?

369- Z	370- Z	371- Z	372- Z	373- S	374- Z	375- S	376- Z
Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly	It would be better if she ((not clear))	If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::		

369- Z	370- Z	371- Z	372- Z	373- S	374- Z	375- S	376- Z
Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly	It would be better if she ((not clear))	If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::		

369- Z	370- Z	371- Z	372- Z	373- S	374- Z	375- S	376- Z
Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly	It would be better if she ((not clear))	If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::		

369- Z	370- Z	371- Z	372- Z	373- S	374- Z	375- S	376- Z
Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly	It would be better if she ((not clear))	If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::		

369- Z	370- Z	371- Z	372- Z	373- S	374- Z	375- S	376- Z
Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly	It would be better if she ((not clear))	If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::		

369- Z	370- Z	371- Z	372- Z	373- S	374- Z	375- S	376- Z
Ok (0.3) if someone criticized you and those who are sitting with you understood the message (0.4)	and it was indirect (.) and it was intended (.) to hurt you, understand (0.3) but indirectly	It would be better if she ((not clear))	If you wanted to get even with them how would you do that, directly or indirectly	If they all know (0.4) it would be better if she said it directly why I mean she	While sitting in a gathering (.) is it fine to criticize you directly:::		

<p>س: خلاص انا نرد عليها وقتي ومرات حد يقولها عيب عليك          ʕalaik ʕaib jukwliha had marra:t waqtj ʕalaiha narud ʔana ʕalasʕ          you on flaw her to say someone sometimes straight away her on reply I I enough</p>	
377- S	[ I can get even with her straight away or sometimes someone would say to her it is
378-	shameful to say that

<p>هذا ما يجيش أو مثلا          maθalan ʔaw majzi:ʃ haða          for example or not come it no this</p>	
379- S	[ and this is inappropriate to say or for example
	[

<p>ز: غير مباشر والا مباشر          muba:ʕer walla muba:ʕer ʔair          direct or direct not</p>	
380- Z	[ Direct or indirect

((أصوات غير واضحة))	
((not clear))	

<p>س: لا مباشر (.) الأحسن تقولها لي مباشر          muba:ʕer tqwlha:lʃ ʔalʔaḥsan muba:ʕer la          direct me it to say she the best direct no</p>	
381: S	[ No direct (.) it would be better if it is said directly
	[

<p>ج: ((غير واضح))</p>	
382: H	[ ((not clear))

<p>مثلا حني في العيلة نفسها و فيه موقف صار و مثلا (.)          maθalan wa sʕa:r mawqif fi:h wa nafisha alʕaila fj ḥnai maθalan          for example and happened event it in and it same the family in we for example</p>	
383- S	[ For example if we were in the same family {in law} and there was a situation that
384-	happened and for example (.)

<p>س: علاش تقول فيه الكلام هذا من تحت (.) و تلقح في الدوة وخلاص          ʕalasʕ ʔaddu:a fj tlaqqah wa taht min haða ʔalkala:m fi:h taqu:l ʕalaʃ          enough the speech in vaccinating and down from this the speech it in say why</p>	
385- S	[ why would such speech be said ‘from down’ and (.) and be ‘injected’ in speech and
386-	so on

مثلا (.) مرات أنا بنداڤ علي نفسي مرات أنا عندي (0.4) موقف صار	
s <sup>ar</sup> marra:t nafsɟ ʕala bindafaʕ ʔana marra:t maθalan	
happened event I have I sometimes myself on defend I sometimes for example	
387- S	for example (.) sometimes I want to defend myself, sometimes I have a story of the
388-	situation she mentioned

	مش نفسه مرات ]
	marra:t nafsah miʃ sometimes it same not
389- S	which is different from hers [

### 30. Speaking indirectly needs skills

	ز: لا قصدي مرات ت ت تردى بغير المباشر حتى انت ]
	ʔinti ɥattá ʔalmuba:ʃer biyair triddɟ t t marra:t qas <sup>ɟ</sup> dj la you even the direct not with reply you y y sometimes I mean no
390- Z	[ No I mean sometimes y y you yourself reply indirectly [

	ج: حتى انت تردى بغير المباشر ]
	ʔalmuba:ʃer biyair triddɟ ʔinti ɥattá the direct not with reply you you even
391- H	[ You reply indirectly then [

	ز: و تبدوا عاد تردوا علي بعضكم (.) و هكذا ((ضحك)) ]
	hakaða wa baʕudɟkum ʕala triddw ʕa:d tabdw wa so on and you together on reply you so start you and
392- Z	[ And you start speaking to each other indirectly (.) and so on ((laughter)) [

	ج: هذه فنيات هذه ((ضحك)) متاعة خبرة ]
	ɣibra mtaʕit hadj fanni:at hadj experience of this techniques this
	[



393- H	It is a matter of techniques then ((laughter)) this needs an experience [
	<div> <div>ف: ليها</div> <div>ناسها =</div> <div>]</div> <div>na:sha</div> <div>its people</div> <div>li:ha</div> <div>it to</div> </div>
394- F	[ This needs experienced people [
	<div> <div>ز: تبى</div> <div>ناسها</div> <div>]</div> <div>na:sha</div> <div>its people</div> <div>tibbj</div> <div>want it</div> </div>
395- Z	[ This needs experienced people [
	<div> <div>ف: = فالحة</div> <div>بال ((ضحك))</div> <div>]</div> <div>bil</div> <div>to the</div> <div>fa:laha</div> <div>skilful</div> </div>
396- F	[ Skilful enough to ((laughter)) [
	<div> <div>ح: خبرة في</div> <div>التلقيح (0.3)</div> <div>يقولك</div> <div>كلمتها في</div> <div>فمها</div> <div>مش</div> <div>كلمتها</div> <div>]</div> <div>fj</div> <div>attalki:h</div> <div>jaqu:llik</div> <div>kalmitha</div> <div>fj</div> <div>fammha</div> <div>mif</div> <div>kalmitha</div> <div>خبرة</div> <div>في</div> <div>التلقيح (0.3)</div> <div>يقولك</div> <div>كلمتها في</div> <div>فمها</div> <div>مش</div> <div>كلمتها</div> </div>
397- H	[ People who have an experience in ‘injecting’ (0.3) as the proverb says: some women have their words in their mouths but others left their words
	<div> <div>عند</div> <div>أمها</div> <div>]</div> <div>ʔummha</div> <div>her mother</div> <div>ʕind</div> <div>with</div> </div>
398- H	with their mothers

## **Appendix (D): Arabic Focus Group Discussion “Male Group”**

Here, I present the focus group discussion which was conducted for the Libyan Arab male group. Six male informants were invited to take a part in the group. The male participants of the focus group also came from different parts of Libya. I recorded a 42:31 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion included friends, colleagues and neighbours, all of whom were well-educated, with ages ranging from 30 to 51 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: F: 51 years old; R: 34 years old; M: 37 years old; N: 30 years old; S: 45 years old; Z: 43 years old; and A: my assistant. The Arab male focus group discussion starts on page 131 and ends on page 175.

أ: شن هو الكلام المباشر (.) و الكلام غير المباشر (0.3) و شن الفرق	?
ʔalfarq ʃin wa ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔair ʔalkala:m wa ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m hu:a ʃin	
the difference what and the direct not the speech and the direct the speech it what	
1- A	What is direct (.) and indirect speech (0.3) and what is the difference

بيناتهم يعني ما بين المباشر و غير المباشر؟ (.)	?
ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔair wa ʔalmuba:ʃer mabain ʃaʃnj bainathum	
the direct not and the direct between mean them between	
2- A	between them I mean between direct and indirect speech? (.)

### 1. Defining directness

ز: يعني ف ف بما معناه (0.5) تجي للشخص يعني (.) انا بتقوله تنتقده	?
tintiɖdah bitqu:lah ʃaʃnj liʃʃaʃsʃ tʒj maʃnah bima f f ʃaʃnj	
criticize him you say you will mean the person to come you it mean what w w mean	
3- Z	It means a a as when (0.5) you say to someone I mean (.) you say, you criticize him

بشي بحاجة معينة مرات تجيه مباشرة بتقوله انت (.)	?
ʔinta bitqu:llah muba:ʃaratan tʒi:h marrat muʃainah bihaʒa biʃaj	
you him say you will directly him come sometimes specific thing thing	
4- Z	for a specific thing he did sometimes you criticize him directly as when you say you (.)

فيك و فيك	?
fi:k wa fi:k	
you in and you in	
5- Z	did this or did that

ن: ماكش كويس	?
kwai:s makix	
good not you no	
6- N	You are not good

### 2. Defining indirectness

ز: مش كويس والا درت حاجة مش كويسة (.) والا في وقت تاني بتجي تلف لفان	?
Laffan tlif bitʒj tanj waqit fʃ walla kwai:sa miʃ ha:ʒa dirt walla kwai:s miʃ	
turning turn you come you another time in or good not thing did or good not	
7- Z	It could be you are not good or you did something bad (.) or sometimes you just go
8-	around

عليه بتقوله راه الكلام هذا مش كويس في ناس تقول في الكلام	?
ʔalkala:m fʃ taqu:l na:s fʃ kwai:s miʃ hada ʔalkla:m rah bitqu:lah ʃalaih	
the speech of say you people in good not this the speech is him say you will him on	
9- Z	and say that what you said is not good and there are some people who say

هذا مش كويس والا قلة ادب يعني بطريقة (0.3) bitari:qa jaʕnj ʔadab qillat walla kwai:s miʃ hada way in mean polite non or good not this	
10-Z	such bad things or that is impolite I mean in a way (0.3)

م: تجيبهاله ماتيبش توصله الدوة ان هو اللي قاله qa:lah ʔillj hu:a ʔinnah ʔaddu:a twasʕillah matibbi:ʃ tzi:bhalah it said that he that the speech him reach you not want you no him to it bring you	
11-M	In a way that does not make him feel that he was intended by the speech

اللي قال الكلام هذا والا ] walla hada ʔalkala:m qa:l ʔillj or this the speech said that	
12-M	or he was the person who said that or [

ز: بتوصلهاله بطريقة (.) بتلف لفان و توصلهاله بمعنى bimaʕna twasʕulha:lah wa laffa:n bitliff bitari:qa bitwasʕulha:lah meaning with him to it reach you and turning turn you wil way with him to it reach you	
13-Z	[ You convey it in a way (.) you go around and make him understand the meaning

تاني ↓ (0.6) هو الفرق بين ((غير واضح)) و في بعض في بعض الحالات تكون tku:n ʔalhala:t baʕdʕ fj baʕdʕ fj wa bain ʔalfarq hu:a tanj being the cases some in some in and between the difference it another	
14-Z	in a different way ↓ (0.6) this is the difference between aa ((not clear)) and in some in
15-	some cases

### 3. Which is more preferred: direct or indirect speech?

الكلام المباشر (.) الليه فائدة أحسن و مرات ((الغير مباشر)) ليه فائدة fajda li:h muba:ʃer ʔalvair marra:t wa ʔaḥsan fajda li:h ʔalmuba:ʃer ʔalkala:m benefit has direct the not sometimes and better benefit has the direct the speech	
16-Z	direct speech (.) aa is better than indirect speech and sometimes indirect speech is

أحسن حسب الحالة اللي (.) ʔillj ʔalhala ḥasab ʔaḥsan that the case according better	
17-Z	better than direct speech according to the situation that (.)

م: اللي تواجهك twa:ʒhik ʔillj you confront it that	
18-M	You are in

ز:	اللي	تواجهك	انت	الشخص	الحالة	أو	الشخص	اللي	قدامك	انت	يعني
	jaʕnj	?inta	qiddamik	?illj	?affaxsʕ	?w	?alhala	?affaxsʕ	?inta	twa:ʒhik	?illj
	mean	you	you	front	that	the	person	or	the	case	the
19- Z	You are in, the person, the situation or the person who you're speaking to I mean										

After 1:04 minutes

#### 4. Indirectness can be defined as 'turning around'

ف:	فيه	نوعين	من	التعريفات	(.)	فيه	اللي	يفهم	الكلام	المباشر	هي
	hi:a	?lmuba:ʃer	?alkala:m	jafham	?illj	fi:h	?attaʕri:ʃa:t	min	nu:ʕain	fi:h	
	it	the	direct	the	speech	understand	he	who	it	in	the
20- F	There are two definitions {for indirect speech} (.) some people see indirect speech as										

انك	تلف	عليه	لفان	و	تقوله	الحاجة	(.)	و	فيه	اللي	
?innik	tlif	ʕlaih	laffan	wa	tqu:lah	?alhaza		wa	ʕillj	fi:h	
you	that	turn	him	on	turn	you	and	the	thing	him	say
21- F	when you go around and say what you want to say (.) while for other people										

يفهم	الكلام	غير	المباشر	مش	انا	نقولها	(.)	نبيعتله	حد		
jafham	?alkala:m	rair	?almuba:ʃer	miʃ	?ana	nqu:lhalah		nabʕitlah	had		
understand	he	not	the	direct	not	the	speech	someone	him	to	send
22- F	there is no face to face interaction in indirect speech (.) instead I send someone										

يقولها	(.)	بمعني	انا	ماجيتش	ل	(أنس)	و	قتله	مثلا	(.)	
jqu:lhalah		?ana	bimaʕnà	mazaitiʃ	ʕ	?anas	li	qutlah	matalan		
he	to	say	him	with	I	mean	I	don't	come	to	(Anas)
23- F	on my behalf to the person I want to say something to (.) I mean I don't come to										
24-	(Anas) and say to him for example (.)										

(أنس)	نبي	منه	فلوس	على	سبيل	المثال	باهي				
?anas	nibbj	minnah	ʕala	flu:s	?almita:l	sabi:l	bahj				
Anas	I	want	him	from	money	on	for	example	ok		
25- F	For example, I lent (Anas) some money and then I need it back										

26- A	[ Emm										

ف:	(.)	فيه	اللي	يعرف	في	غير	المباشر	ان	انا	تقولك	مثلا	ضروف
	dʕwru:f	133	atalan	nqu:lik	?ana	?inna	?almuba:ʃer	rair	fj	jʕarref	?illj	fi:h
	conditions	for	example	you	to	say	I	I	that	the	direct	not
27- F	(.) There are some people define indirect speech as when I say to you, for example,											
28-	you know I live in difficult circumstances											

	الحياة و كذا و نجيبها لك من التالي باش نقولك اعطيني ʔaʕtʔi:nj nqu:lik baʕ ʔiltalj min nzi:bhalik wa kada wa ʔalhaja me give you to say I to behind from you to it bring I and like that and the Life
29- F	and things like that and I go around to tell you give me

	فلوسي (.) يسموا فيه غير مباشر (.) فيه اللي يقولك غير المباشر ʔalmuba:fer ʔair jaqu:lik ʔillj fi:h muba:fer ʔair fi:h jsamu: flu:sj the direct not you to say he who it in direct not it in name they my money
30- F	my money back (.) this is known as indirect speech (.) however, there are some
31-	people who don't see this as indirect speech

### 5. Using a third person to convey indirect message

	مش هكي (.) مانجيكش انا (.) نبعثك شخص اخر ʔaxar ʕaxs nabʕitlik ʔana manzi:kif hikkj mij another person you to send I I not you come I no like not
32- F	not like that (.) I don't go to the person {I want my money from} (.) I send somebody
33-	else

	ن: صح (0.4) Sʕah right
34- N	Right (0.4)

	ف: فهمت هو يجيك يقولك راه فتحي مستحق لفلوسه فهمت (.) fhamit hu:a jzi:k jqu:lik fathj rahu misthaq liflu:sah fhamit understood he understood you come he you to say he Fathi that need his money to
35- F	Understand, the person I sent would say to you, (Fathi) really needs his money,
36-	understand (.)

	فيعتبروا فيه حتى هذا نوع من الكلام غير المباشر (.) لكن المجل ʔalmuzmal lakin ʔalmuba:fer ʔair ʔalkala:m min nu:ʕ hada hattà fi:h fjaʕtebru: conception but the direct not the speech of kind this even it in regard they
37- F	such speech is also regarded as a type of indirect speech (.) but generally speaking

	العام اللي متفاهمين عليه الناس هو انك تلف عليه (.) والا انك ʔinnik walla ʕlaih tlif ʔinnik hu:a anna:s ʕlaih mitfahmi:n ʔillj ʔalʕa:m you that or on him turn you that is the people on it agree that general
38- F	most people define indirect speech as going around (.) and

	تجيه مباشرة فهمت كيف (.) لكن حتى الثاني تعريف راه حتى hattà rah taʕri:f attanj hattà lakin kaif fhamit muba:ʕarah tzi:h even that definition the other even but how understood directly him come you
39- F	direct speech when you speak directly, understand (.) but the other form also can be
40-	seen as a definition

	الكلام غير المباشر كونه حد ثاني (0.7) ينقل عليك انت (0.3) تبعته tabʕtah ʔinta ʕalaik junqul tanj had ku:nah ʔamuba:fer ʔair ʔalkala:m him send you you on you convey he another one being the direct not the speech
--	---

41- F | if someone (0.7) says something on your behalf to someone else (0.3) you send him

انت و يمشي يقول كلام غير مباشر باش يقولك أنا كان يمشي  
bnimʃj ka:n ʔana jaqu:lik baʃ muba:ʃer ɣair kala:m jaqu:l jemʃj wa ʔinta  
walk I will if I you to say he to direct not speech say he walk he and you

42- F | to say something indirectly, because if I went

ل (أنس) (غير واضح)  
] ʔans li  
Anas to

43- F | to (Anas) ((not clear))  
[

] ((كحة))  
[ ((Coughing))

ن: مزبوط صح  
] Sʕah mazbu:tʕ  
right exactly

44- N | Right, exactly  
[

] ف: فهمت (.) فيراله انت فيعتبر جاك لحاجتي أنا (.) بطريقة  
bitʕari:qa ʔana liha:ʒtj ʒa:k faɟuʕtabar ʔinta fabarralah fhamit  
way with I my thing you came he regard it you him to go understood

45- F | Understand (.) so I would say to someone you go, and he would talk to you about  
46- something I need (.) in  
[

غير مباشرة (.) حتى هذا تعريف لل تعريف للغير مباشر =  
] mubaʃer lilɣair taʕri:f lil taʕri:f hada hattá muba:ʃera ɣair  
direct not to definition to definition this even direct not

47- F | an indirect way (.) this also can be a definition for a a definition for indirect speech=  
[

] أ: صح صح  
] Sʕah Sʕah  
right right

48- A | Right right  
[

	ف= لكن اللي مقصود اللي يتداولوا فيه الناس تجيه (.) تجيه tzi:h tzi:h ?anna:s fi:h jatada:wlu: ?illj mas'u:d ?illj lakin him come you him come you the people it in use they that meant that but
49- F 50-	[ = But the most well known type of indirect speech that is used by most people is (.) is when you speak

	دريكت (0.5) والا تلف عليه ?laih tlif walla driket him on turn you or direct
51- F	indirectly (0.5) or when you go around

After 2:45 minutes

6. Is indirectness positive or negative?

	أ: هل الكلام غير المباشر (.) سلبي أم ايجابي (.) و لماذا؟ (1) limaða wa ?izabj ?am salbj ?almuba:fer rair ?alkal:m hal why and positive or negative the direct not the speech do
52- A	Is indirect speech (.) negative or positive (.) and why? (1)

	س: تعتمد على الظروف طبعاً حسب الموضوع يعني أحياناً يكون jaku:n ?ahianan jaʕnj ?almawd'u:ʕ hasab t'abaʕan alðʕwru:f ʕala taʕtamid being sometimes mean the subject according of course the conditions on depend it
53- S	It depends on the situations of course, according to the subject I mean, sometimes it is

	سلبي و أحياناً يكون ايجابي (.) لو تتكلم بطريقة غير مباشرة (.) muba:fera rair bit'ari:qa titkallim law ?izabj jaku:n ?ahianan wa salbj direct not way with speak you if positive being sometimes and negative
54- S	negative but sometimes it is positive (.) if you speak indirectly (.)

	مرات توصل للحاجة اللي انت تبنيها (.) بشكل سلس يعني jaʕnj salis bifakil tibbi:ha ?inta ?illj lilhaza tu:s'il marrat mean smooth form with it want you you that the thing to thing to reach you sometimes
55- S	sometimes you will reach your goal (.) in a smooth way I mean

	وووو و بشكل مرن (.) أحياناً لو تتكلم بشكل غير مباشر تضع tud'ajaʕ mubafer rair bifakil titkallim law ?ahjanan marin bifakil wa www lose you direct not form with speak you if sometimes flexible form with and aaaa
56- S	aaaa and in a flexible way (.) sometimes when you speak indirectly you lose

	حقك (0.3) بطريقة (.) أخرى يعني (.) و حسب الظروف يعني حسب hasab jaʕnj alðʕwru:f hasab wa jaʕnj ?uxra bit'ari:qa haqqak according mean the conditions according and mean another way with your right
57- S 58-	your rights (0.3) in a way (.) or another I mean (.) and according to the situation I mean according



حسب الوضع (.) أحيانا يكون سلبي و أحيانا يكون ايجابي	
ʔizabj jaku:n jaku:n ʔahianan wa salbj jaku:n ahianan ʔalwadʕ hasab	
positive being being sometimes and negative being sometimes the situation according	
59- S	according to the situation (.) sometimes it is negative and sometimes it is positive

يعني (.) أحيانا تحتاج انك تتكلم كلام مباشر يعني عشان توصل	
tu:sʕel ʕafa:n jaʕnj muba:fer kala:m titkallim ʔinnik tahtaʒ ʔahianan jaʕnj	
reach you to mean direct speech speak you you that need you sometimes mean	
60- S	I mean (.) sometimes you need to speak directly to reach

لنقطة معينة (.) أحيانا غصبا عنك تلف باش توصل للنقطة هذه	
hadi lilnuqtah tu:sʕel ba:f tlif ʕannik rasʕban ʔahianan muʕaiana linuqtah	
this the point to reach you to turn you you on perforce sometimes specific point to	
61- S	a specific point (.) but sometimes you need to go around to reach this point

يعني حسب الظروف حسب	
]	
hasab alðʕwru:f hasab jaʕnj	
according the conditions according mean	
62- S	I mean according to the conditions according to ..

م: حسب حساسية الموقف	
]	
ʔalmaw kif hasasi:at hasab	
the situation sensitiveness according	
63- M	[ According to the sensitiveness of the situation

س: حسب حساسية الموضوع و حسب ال	
]	
ʔal hasab wa ʔalmawdʕu:ʕ hasasi:at hasab	
the according and the subject sensitiveness according	
64- S	[ According to the sensitiveness of the subject and according to the ....

## 7. The shortcomings of indirect speech

ف: هو هو أنا وجهة نظري عيب ال الكلام غير المباشر (.)	
ʔalmuba:fer rair ʔalkala:m ʔal ʕaib nadʕarj wizhat ʔana hu:a hu:a	
the direct not the speech the shortcoming my view point I it it	
65- F	[ It is, it is, from my point of view, the problem with indirect speech (.)

	انه مرات marrat ?innah sometimes it that
66- F	it sometimes

	ن: ماتوصلش (.) الفكرة ماتوصلش ] ?alfikra matwas'ili? matwas'ili the idea not reach you no not reach you no
67- N	It doesn't convey (.) it doesn't convey the idea [

	ف: ماتوصلش الفكرة (.) و بعدين يفقد قوة الحاجة نفسها ] nafisha ?alhaza qu:at jaffqid ba?dain wa ?alfikra matwas'ili? itself the thing power lose it then and the idea not reach you no
68- F	[ it doesn't convey the idea (.) and the meaning itself might lose its influence [

	ر: الحاجة صح اه (.) ?ah s'ah ?alhaza yes right the thing
69- R	[ The meaning right yes (.)

### 7.1. An example of the shortcomings of indirect speech

	ف: انت متلا لما انا جاي منك غاضب على قصة كبيرة انت درت dirt inta kabi:ra qis'a ?ala rad'ib minnik zaj ?ana lamma matalan ?inta did you you big story on angry you from come I I when for example you
70- F	For example, if I was very <u>angry</u> with you for something you did, you did

	حاجة كبيرة متلا حتى ولدي والا كذا (.) درت حاجة تحتاج taha:3 ha:zah dirt kada walla wildj hattà matalan kabi:ra ha:zah need it something did you like or my son even for example big thing
71- F	a horrible thing for example, or even my son did something bad for example (.) you
72-	did something that calls forth

	غضب كبير (.) kabi:r rad'ab big anger
73- F	real anger (.)

	]](كحة))
	]
((coughing))	[

	]]
ف: لما أنا نلف عليه و مانجيهاش مباشرة تفقد قوتها في كونها	
ku:nha fj qu:itha tiffqid muba:fara manzi:ha:f wa ʕalaih nliff ʔana lamma	
being it in its power lose it direct not it come I no and him on turn I I when	
74- F	[ when I go around and don't say it directly the meaning will lose its influence as it

	خطأ كبير (.)
	kabi:r ʕatʕaʔ
	big mistake
75- F	should be seen(.)

	ن: صح
	] s'ah
	right
76- N	Right
	[

	] أ: صح
	] s'ah
	right
77- A	[ Right
	[

	]]
ف: عرفت كيف يعني انت مثلا (.) درت فيك خطأ كبير مثلا اا اي	
ʔai aa 139atalan kabi:r ʕatʕaʔ fi:k dirt 139atalan ʔinta jaʕnj kaif ʕaruft	
any aa for example big mistake you in did I for example you mean how know you	
78- F	[ You know, I mean you, for example, (.) I made a big mistake in relation to you for
79-	example aaa any

	خطأ فهمت (.) انت القوة اللي جاي بيها علي انه هو خطأ كبير
kabi:r ʕatʕaʔ hu:a ʔinnah ʕalà bi:ha zaj ʔillj ʔalqu:a ʔinta fhamit ʕatʕaʔ	
big mistake is it that on it with come you that the power you understood mistake	
80- F	mistake understand (.) the anger you feel towards this big mistake

	لما تجيني كلام غير مباشر حتضيعها في الوسط (.) لدرجة اني
ʔinnj lidarazat ʔalwasitʕ fj hatdʕajaʕha muba:fer rair kala:m tzi:nj lamma	
me that level to the middle in it lose you will direct not speech me come you when	

81- F	won't be clear to me when you speak indirectly (.) so I would feel
-------	--

### 8. Directness is required in some situations

<p>نفس بيها مش حاجة كبيرة يعني (.) انك انت لكن لو جيت بنفس          binafis zait law lakin ?inta ?innik jaʕnj kabi:ra haʒah miʃ bi:ha nʔhis          same with came you if but you you that mean big thing not it with feel I</p>	
82- F	it wasn't a big mistake I mean (.) if you spoke to me according to

<p>القوة متاعها نفس أنا بحجمها (.) و يكون يكون ردة الفعل متاعي والا          walla mtaʕj ʔalfiʕl raddat jaku:n jaku:n wa bihaʒimha ʔana nʔhis mtaʕha ʔalqqu:a          or mine the reaction be be and its size with I feel I its the power</p>	
83- F	the magnitude of the problem I would feel how horrible it was (.) and my reaction or

<p>تعاطفي مع قصتك بكون على نفس حجم الواحد (.) فهذه واحدة من          min wahida fhadih ʔalwa:hid haʒm nafs ʕalà bjku:n qisʕtik maʕa taʕatʕuʃ          of one this the one size same on be with your story with my sympathy</p>	
84- F	my sympathy towards your story would be similar to its magnitude (.) so this is one
85	of

<p>العيوب متع الكلام غير المباشر (.) انه مايوصلش الحاجة          ʔalhaza majwasʕilif ?innah ʔalmuba:ʕer ʕair ʔalkala:m mtaʕ ʔalʕuju:b          the thing not reach it no it that the direct not the speech of the shortcoming</p>	
86- F	the problems of indirect speech (.) it doesn't convey the meaning

<p>بنفس قوتها و حجمها (.) بحيث تبان للشخص (غير واضح) بشكل غير مباشر (.)          muba:ʕer ʕair biʕakil liʕjaʕisʕ tba:n bihait haʒimha wa qu:i:tha binafis          direct not form with the person to appear it that its size and its power same with</p>	
87- F	with the same magnitude or strength (.) so it would be seen ((not clear)) in an indirect
88-	form (.)

<p>انها عادية يعني (0.4) توا ولدك خنب مثلا (.) فهمت (.) لما انت تجي          tʒj ?inta lamma fhamit matalan ʕanab wildik tawa jaʕnj ʕa:dʒa ?innha          come you you when understood for example stole your son now mean normal it that</p>	
89- F	as if it was minor (0.4) for example, if your son stole something for example (.) OK
90-	(.) if you came to him

<p>تقوله كيف تخنب هذا كلام قوي يخاف منه لكن لما تجي          tʒj lamma lakin minnah jaʕa:f qawj kala:m hada tiʕnib kaif tqu:lah          come you when but it from scared he strong speech this steal how him to say you</p>	
91- F	and say <u>how dare you steal</u> , this is very strong speech, and he would be worried, but
92-	when you

<p>تقوله الخنبة حرام و مايجيش و عيب و كذا (.)          kada wa ʕaib wa majʒi:f wa hara:m ʔalʕinba taqu:lah          like and shortcoming and not come it no and forbidden the theft him to say you</p>	
93- F	say to him stealing is a taboo and it is forbidden to steal and so on (.)

<p>و هلبه ناس تخن::ب وو  ] ww tixnib na:s halba wa  a a stea:l people lots and</p>	
94- F	and there are many people who stea:l aaa ]

<p>]]  ((كحة))  ]</p>	
<p>[  ((coughing))  [</p>	

<p>]]  ف: فهمت (.) تفقد معناها و هذه مشكلة كبيرة في ال في فقد  faqd fj ?al fj kabi:ra mu?kila hadih wa ma?naha tifqid fhamit  loss in the in big problem this and its meaning lose it understood</p>	
95- F	[ Understand (.) it loses its meaning and this is a real problem when it loses

<p>المعنى متاعها  ?alma?na mta:ʃha  the meaning its</p>	
96- F	its meaning

After 2:27 minutes

9. Is indirect speech positive or negative?

<p>س: هو يا أنس زي ماقلتك أحيانا بالنسبة لل (.) أحيانا يكون الكلام  ?alkala:m jaku:n ?ahjanan lil binnisba ?ahjanan maqutlik zai ?anas ja hu:a  the speech be sometimes to for with sometimes you to said I as Anas oh it</p>	
97- S	As I said to you earlier (Anas) sometimes for the (.) sometimes indirect

<p>غير المباشر سلبي و أحيانا يكون ايجابي حسب الموقف يعني (.)  jaʃnj ?almawqif hasab ?izabj jaku:n ?ahjanan wa salbj ?almuba:fer ʔair  mean the situation according positive be sometimes and negative the direct not</p>	
98- S	speech is negative and sometimes it is positive according to the situation I mean (.)

<p>ف: صح (1)  sʕah  right</p>	
99- F	Right (1)

س: يعني ] jaʕnj Mean	
100- S	I mean [

ف: أنا معاك صح (2) مرات ] marrat sʕah mʕa:k ʔana sometimes right you with I	
101- F	[ Right, I agree with you (2) sometimes [

س: فيه مواقف تتطلب الايجابي تتطلب الكلام غير المباشر ] muba:fer rair ʔalkala:m tataʕallab ʔalʔjza:bj tataʕallab mawaqif fi:h direct not the speech need it the positive need it situations it in	
102- S	In some situations you need to speak positively, I mean indirectly [

### 10. An advantage of indirect speech

ف: لأنه شني (0.7) من ايجابيته الكلام غير المباشر (1.4) انك انت تقدر تكسب tiksib tiqder ʔinta ʔinnik ʔalmuba:fer rair ʔalkala:m ʔjza:bjatah min finj liʔannah gain you can you you that the direct not the speech its positive of what it because	
103- F	Because (0.7) one of the advantages of indirect speech (1.4) you can satisfy

الشخص (2) من خلال استخدام مفردات ↑ (.) ترطب خاطره (.) تخلي ردة فعله أقل (1) ʔaqal fiʕlah raddat txallj ʔatʕrah tratʕab mufrada:t ʔistiʔda:m ʔila:l min ʔʕʕaxisʕ less his reaction let it himself soften vocabulary use through from the person	
104- F	the person (2) through using polite expressions↑ (.) trying not to upset him (.) so his
105-	reaction would be neutral (1)

أفضل من انك تجيه مباشر فحتى هذه من من من ايجابياته (.) لكن lakin ʔjzabjatah min min min hadih fahtta muba:fer tzi:h ʔinnik min ʔafdʕal but its positives of of of this even direct him come you you that than better	
106- F	it is better than speaking directly, so this is one of of of its advantages (.) but

اللي يتحكم في كونه (0.3) سلبي أو ايجابي نوعية الموقف نفسه يعني jaʕnj nafsah ʔalmawqif nawʕjat ʔjzabj ʔaw salbj ku:nah fj jatahakkam ʔillj mean itself the situation kind positive or negative it being in control that	
107- F	what makes it be seen as (0.3) negative or positive is the situation itself I mean

After 3:17 minutes

11. Is indirectness more common than directness in Libyan society?

	ف: فيه مجتمعات كله عايشة على المجاملة (1) مجتمعات ماتتعالش
	matitʕamilʃ muztamaʕa:t ʔalmuza:ma;ah ʕalà ʕa:jjʕa kullah muztamaʕa:t fi:h
	not deal they no societies the compliment on live it all it societies it in
108- F	There are some societies where people always compliment each other (1) such
109-	societies don't use

	بالكلام المباشر هذا نهائيا (.) فهمت (.) يجاملوا في بعضهم (.)
	baʕdʕhum fj jza:mlw fhamit nihaʔjan hada ʔalmuba:fer bilkala:m
	each other in compliment they understood never this the direct the speech with
110- F	direct speech at all (.) they just compliment each other (.)

	و فيه اللي يقولك يعطيهالك عرفت بالفلاقي يعطيهالك
	jaʕtʕi:halik jaqu:lik jaʕtʕi:halik ʕrafut bilfillaqj jaʕtʕi:halik
	you to it give he you to say he you to it give he know you slang with you to it give he
111- F	and as it is said in colloquial language, 'he punches you

	في السنون ] ʔassnu:n fj the teeth in
112- F	in your teeth <sup>5</sup> = [being blunt] [

	س: يعطيهالك في السنون صح ((ضحك)) ] sʕah ʔassnu:n fj jaʕtʕi:halik right the teeth in you to it give he
113- S	[ He punches you in your teeth right ((laughter)) [

	ف: يعني راجل يجي يقولهاك في وجهك انت تحب والا تكره (0.5)
	takrah walla thib ʔinta wazhik fj jaqu:lhalik jaz razel jaʕnj
	hate you or like you you your face in you to it say he come he man mean
114- F	[ I mean some people criticize you directly to your face whether you like it or not (0.5)

	لأن الناس معظم كلامهم مش مباشر تلقى الناس اهيه
	ʔahia ʔannas talqa muba:fer miʕ kala:mhum muʕdʕam ʔannas liʔanna
	this the people find you direct not their speech most the people because
115- F	because most people's speech is indirect, people who speak directly are

<sup>5</sup> This expression is used as a description of conveying an offensive message.

معدودة	يقولك	فلان	زي	فلان (.)	واحد	اثنين	ثلاثة	تلقاهم (.)
maʕdu:da	jaqu:lik	fula:n	zaj	fula:n	wahid	?itni:n	tla:taħ	talqa:hum
little	you to say he	that man	like	that man	one	two	three	them find you
116- F	few, they are few (.) only one two or three {in a certain area}(.)							

يقولك	هذا	رد	بالك	منه	والا	يعطيهالك	في السنون
jaqu:lik	hada	rid	balik	minnah	walla	jaʕtʕi:halik	?assnu:n fj
you to say he	this	be	your attention	him from	or	you to it give he	the teeth in
117- F	you would be warned of specific people, you would be told that these people						
118-	'punch in the teeth' = {being blunt}						

يعطيهالك	في	وجهك (.)	فهذا	يعطيك	انطباع	ان	معظم	الكلام
jaʕtʕi:halik	fj	fhada	wazhik	jaʕtʕi:k	?intʕiba:ʕ	?inna	muʕdʕam	?alkala:m
you to it give he	in	this	your face	you give it	impression	that	most	the speech
119- F	they punch you in face = {punch meaning straight to your face}(.) this gives you an							

		المتداول	غير مباشر	مباشر
		?	]	
		almutadawal	rair	muba:fer
		the popular	not	direct
120- F	impression that most common speech is indirect			
	[			

]		م: غير	مباشر (0.5)
		rair	muba:fer
		not	direct
121- M	[ Indirect (0.5)		

ف: و حني في مجتمعنا	غالب	علينا	الكلام	غير	المباشر	في كل شي
muztamaʕna fj hna:j wa	ralib	ʕalaina	?alkala:m	rair	?almuba:fer	fj
our society in we and	popular	us on	the speech	not	the direct	thing every in
122- F	In our society we use indirect speech for everything					

ز: صح (.)		sʕah
		right
123- Z	Right	

## 12. The role of power in speaking directly or indirectly

م: هي تعتمد زي ما	قالك	فتحي حتى علي	المتلقي	و ال (.) يعني
taʕtamid hi:a	qallik	ʕalla hatta ʕali	?almutalaqqi	ʕaʕnj
as depend it	you to said	even Fathi	the receiver	mean the and
124- M	As Fathi said, it depends on the receiver themselves, and the (.) I mean			



عاده	اللي	في	مركز	أقوى	(.)	دائما	يتكلم	بشكل	مباشر	للي
ʕadatan	ʔillj	fj	markaz	ʔaqwa	daʔiman	jatkallim	bifakil	muba:fer	lillj	who
usually	position	in	who	always	stronger	speak	he	direct	form	with
125- M	usually, the person who is in a higher position (.) always speak in a direct way to									

أقل	منه	و	العكس	و	اللي	أقل	تلقاه	يطلب	بشكل
ʔaqal	minnah	wa	ʔalʕaks	wa	ʔillj	ʕaqal	talqah	jatʕlub	biʕakil
less	him	from	the	contrast	and	who	less	request	he
form with						him	find you		

126- M	those who are in a lower position and vice versa and the person who is in a lower position makes requests in
127-	

	غير مباشر ] muba:fer rair direct not									
128- M	an indirect way [									

	] ف: زي ابو و الولد ] ʔalwalid wa ʔalbu: zaj the boy and the father like									
129- F	[ Like a father and his son [									

	] م: زي الأب و الولد ] ʔalwalid wa ʔalʔab zaj the boy and the fathet like									
130- M	[ Like a father and his son [									

	] أ: صح ] sʕah right									
131- A	[ Right [									

<p>م: لما الأب يطلب من العيل يطلب منه بشكل مباشر عدي دير          di:r ʕaddj muba:fer biʃkil minaah jaʔlub ʔalʕajel min jaʔlub ʔalʔab lamma          do go direct form with him from request the child from request the father when</p>	
132- M	[ When a father wants something from his son he asks him directly, go and do this or
133-	that

<p>(.) بينما ال العكس لما العيل يبي حاجة من بوه يبدأ          jabda bu:h min ʕazah jebbj ʔalʕajl lamma ʔalʕakis ʔal bajnama          start he his father from something want he the child when the contrast the while</p>	
134- M	(.) by contrast, when the child wants his father to do something for him he starts

<p>يلف و يدور (.) و لقيت والله هني جايين حاجات رخاص في السوق =          ]          ʔassu:q fj rʕa:sʃ ʕa:za:t ʕajbi:n hnj wallahi laqi:t wa jadu:r wa jaliff          the market in cheap things bring they here by God found I and spin he and turn</p>	
135- M	going around (.) {for example} there are some cheap things in the market =

<p>ن: ((ضحك))          ]</p>	
136- N	[ ((laughter)) ]

<p>م: = و كذا و يبدأ يبدأ يلف و يدور على الحاجة          ʔalʕa:ʕa ʕalà jadu:r wa jaliff jabda jabda wa kaða wa          the thing on spin he and turn he start he start he and like and</p>	
137- M	[ And things like that and he starts going around to get what he wants

<p>ف: و شوف انت          ]          ʔinta ʃu:f wa          you look and</p>	
138- F	And look

<p>أ: مايجيبهاالكش مباشر طول          ]          tʕu:l muba:fer majzi:bhalikif          straight direct not you to it bring he no</p>	
139- A	He doesn't say it directly

<p>م: مايجيبهاالكش طول (.) والا يمشي يكلم أمه و يقولها</p>	
--	--

jaqu:lilha wa ?ummah jukallam jemfj walla t'u:l majzi:bhalikif her to say he and her mother speak he walk he or straight not you to it bring he no	
140- M	[ He doesn't say it directly (.) or he goes to his mother and asks her

<div style="text-align: right;">           باهي كلمي بوي            ]            bu:j kallmj bahj            my father speak ok         </div>	
141- M	to speak to his father [

<div style="text-align: right;">           ف:ايه هدا هدا النوع اللي نحكوا عليه لانه فيه ناس            na:s fi:h li?annah ?lajh nahku: ?illj ?annu:ʕ hada hada ?aih            people it in it because it on tell we that the type this this yes         </div>	
142- F	[ Yes this this is the type of speech I talked to you about because there are some
143-	people ....

**13. There is a difference between different generations in using direct and indirect speech**

<div style="text-align: right;">           ن: هدا ايام زمان            zaman ?ajam hada            ages days this         </div>	
144- N	That used to happen in the past

<div style="text-align: right;">           ((ضحك))            ]         </div>	
((laughter)) [	

<div style="text-align: right;">           ف: لا لا قصدي فيه ناس فيه ناس (غير واضح)            ]            na:s fi:h na:s fi:h qas'dj la? la?            people it in people it in my mean no no         </div>	
145- F	[ No no I mean there are some people there are some people ((not clear)) [

<div style="text-align: right;">           ن: توا يقولك يا بابا نبي هديك يا بابا ((ضحك))            ]            baba ja hadi:k nibbj baba ja jaqu:lik tawa            dad oh that want I dad oh you to say he now         </div>	
146- N	[ Nowadays, they just say 'Dad, I want this dad' ((laughter)) [

] ((ضحك)) ]	
147-H	[ ((Laughter)) ]

#### 14. Speaking indirectly needs skills

] ف: فيه ناس ما عندهاش القدرة (غير واضح) بحيث تحطك وسيط (1) wasi:tʰ thutʰuk bhait ʔalqudra maʕindhaʃ na:s fi:h mediator you put they where the ability not them have they no people it in	
148- F 149-	[ ((not clear)) there are some people who can't ((not clear)) so they put you as a mediator (1)

] صح sʰah right	
150- A	Right

ف: عرفت كيف يعني (. حتى هو الكلام غير المباشر مش قادر عليه زي ما ma zaj ʕlajh qa:dir miʃ ʔalmuba:ʃer ɾair ʔalkala:m hu:a hattà jaʕnj kajf ʕaruft like as him on able not the direct not the speech it even mean how know you	
151- F 152-	Understand, I mean (. this is also indirect speech, some people can't speak indirectly as

قالك مثلا (. حتى هو بطريقته ماعنداش ملكات يجي jezj malka:t maʕinda:ʃ bitʕari:qtah hu:a hattà matalan qa:llik come he faculties not have no his way with it even for example you to said he	
153- F 154-	(muhammad) said to you for example (. because he doesn't have the ability himself to speak indirectly he can

الكلام غير المباشر يجي لأمه يقولها قولي لبوي (. libu:j qu:lɔ jaqu:lilha liʔummah jezj ʔalmuba:ʃer ɾair ʔalkala:m my father to say her to say he his mother to come he the direct not the speech	
155- F	still use indirect speech by going to his mother and ask her to speak to his father (. )

] صح (. لا و حتى حني مرات شني الشخص يقولوله هذا وجهه صحيح sʰahi:h wazhah hada jqu:lu:lah ʔaʃʃaʃsʰ ʃinj marrat hnaj hattà wa la sʰah strong his face this him to say they the person what sometimes we even and no right	
156-A	Right (. ) and sometimes we use the term 'strong-faced' to describe the person

#### 15. Direct speech can sometimes be seen impolite

(0.7) يبي يجي للشخص طول ما يجيش ] majzi:ʃ tʰu:l liʃʃaʃsʰ jzj z not come he no straight the person to come he c c	
--	--

157- A	(.) who requests directly and doesn't use ... [
--------	--

ف: ايه (.) هذا علاش يعتبر محدود جدا استخدام (غير واضح) ] ?aiħ ?ala:f juʃtabar maħdu:d ziddan ?istiʁda:m yes this why regarded it limited very usage						
158- F	[ Yes (.) that is why it is very limited ((not clear)) ]					

ن: بس هذا قلة راه اللي وجهه صحيح قلة راه (.) rah qilla s'hi:h wazhah ?illj rah qilla hada bas mean few strong his face who mean few this but						
159- N	But these people are few, people who are 'strong-faced' are few (.)					

ف: و هذا علاش الكلام المباشر أقل ?ala:f hada wa ?alkala:m ?almuba:fer ?aqal why this and the speech the direct less						
160- F	That is why direct speech is limited					

ن: أقل فيه اللي يجي حاجته ياخذها منك ياخذها منك يبيها ?illj fi:h ?aqal jezj haʒtah jaʁudha minnik jaʁudha minnik jebi:ha who it in less come he his thing take he you from take he you from it want he						
161- N	It is limited, there are some people take what they want from you					

يديرها يجيك مباشرة يعني و ياخذها (.) هادم قلة مش يعني jedi:rha jezi:k muba:ʃaratan jaʁudha hadum qilla miʃ jaʁnj it do he you come he directly mean and take he those it take he mean not few						
162- N	they just say it directly I mean and take what they want (.) these are few I mean					

مش عادة في المجتمع الليبي (.) miʃ ʁadatan fj ?almuʒtamaʃ ?alli:bj not usually in the society the Libyan						
163- N	it is unusual in Libyan society (.)					

# 16. Using direct speech is required in some situations

ف: لكن المفترض المفترض الكلام ال ال في الحق في الحق lakin ?almuʃtaradʃ ?almuʃtaradʃ ?alkala:m ?al ?al ?alhaq fj ?alhaq fj but the supposed the supposed the speech the the the right in the right in the right						
164- F	But it must be it must be direct when speaking for rights for rights					

ا: ايه في الحق ايه ] ?aiħ ?alhaq fj ?aiħ yes the right in yes						
--	--	--	--	--	--	--

165- A	Yes for rights yes [
<p>ف: الحق ما فيش (.) المفروض في الحق (.) الحق اللي هو حق ناس أخرى          ?uxrə na:s haq hu:a ?illj ?alhaq ?alhaq fj ?almafru:d<sup>ʕ</sup> mafi:f ?alhaq          other people right is that the right the right in the supposed not in no the right</p>	
166- F	[ The rights are not (.) it should be direct when speaking for rights (.) other's rights
<p>مش حق في انك توصله النصيحة ممكن تلف عليه (.)          ?alajh tliff mumkin annas<sup>ʕ</sup>i:ha twasʕillah ?innik fj haq mi:f          him'on turn you possible the advice him to reach you you that in right not</p>	
167- F	[ not the right to advise somebody because you can go around when advising him (.)
<p>لكن باش تاخذ حق شخص (1) فهمت (.) المفروض يكون الكلام مباشر          muba:fer ?alkala:m jaku:n ?almafru:d<sup>ʕ</sup> fhamit ʕajis<sup>ʕ</sup> haq taxid ba:f lakin          direct the speech be the supposed understood person right take you to but</p>	
168- F	[ But when you speak for someone's rights (1) OK (.) it should be direct
<p>ز: مباشر صح          s<sup>ʕ</sup>ah muba:fer          right direct</p>	
169- Z	[ Direct yes [
<p>ف: باش ماتضيعش حق الشخص (.) كونك انت تتكلم على حقك          haqqak ʕalə titkallim ?inta ku:nik ?affaxs<sup>ʕ</sup> haq matd<sup>ʕ</sup>ajafes ba:f          your right on speak you you being you the person right not lose you no to</p>	
170- F	[ So people's rights won't be lost (.) if you were speaking about your rights
<p>انت بطريقك انت انت حر لكن (.) انا جاي بناخذ حق أحمد (0.3)          ?ahmad haq bna:ʕid ʕa:j ?ana lakin hur ?inta ?inta bit<sup>ʕ</sup>ari:qtik ?inta          Ahamad right take I come I I but free you you your way with you</p>	
171- F	[ it is up to you to use the way you like but (.) if I wanted to take Ahmad's rights (0.3)
<p>نبدا أنا تلف باش ناخذله الحق هدا طبعا يضيع فيها          fi:ha jed<sup>ʕ</sup>ajaf t<sup>ʕ</sup>abaʕan hada ?alhaq na:ʕidlah ba:f nliff ?ana nabda          it in lose it of course this the right him to take I to turn I I start I</p>	
172- F	[ and I started going around to take his rights, in such cases of course people's rights

	حقوق ?anna:s the people	الناس huqu:q rights
173- F	would be lost	

ر: هذا مش لفا هذا هذه لما تصل مرحلة التحكيم (.) هذا القاضي ?alqa:dʒ hada ?attahki:m marhalat tasʕil lamma hadih hadih hada laffa miʕ hada the judge this the adjudication stage reach when this this this tu not this	174- R	This is not, this this this is in adjudication (.) this is what judges do
---	--------	---

و كذا هذا لازم يكون مباشر لكن حني نحكوا على شن اسمه ?ismah ʕen ʕalà nahku: hnaj lakin muba:ʕer jaku:n lazim hada kada wa its name what on speak we we but direct be should this like and	175- R	and so on, this should be direct but we are talking about, what is it called!
--	--------	---

على عامة الناس علي المجتمع ʕalà ʕa:mmat ?anna:s ʕalà the society on the people general on	176 – R	how it is used by ordinary people in the society
---	---------	--

After 1:41 minutes

### 17. Names for direct speech

أ: هل للكلام المباشر اسم معين في المدينة أو المنطقة متاكم؟ mtaʕkum ?almintaqa ?aw ?almadi:na fj muʕajan ?ism ?almuba:ʕer lilkala:m hal your th area or the city in specific name the direct the speech to do	177- A	Does direct speech have a specific name in the city you came from?
--	--------	--

م: في كثير من الأحيان نقولوا فلان هبل (.) لانه كلمته ديمة في الوجه [ ?alwazah fj di:ma kalimtah li?annah habal fula:n nqu:lu: ?al?ahjan min kati:r fj the face in always his word it because crazy that man say we the times of much in	178-M	Such people are mostly called crazy (.) because they always speak to the face [
--	-------	--

ف: خلاص [ معناها معناها معناها منبوذ الكلام المباشر ?almuba:ʕer ?alkala:m manbu:ð maʕnaha maʕnaha maʕnaha ʕalasʕ the direct the speech castaway it mean it mean it mean enough	179-F	[ That is it, that means that means that means it is not preferred, direct speech [
---	-------	---

(غير واضح) [
-----------------

[  
((Not clear))  
[

ف: معناها	الكلام	المباشر	منبوذ
maʕnaha	?alkala:m	?almuba:fer	manbu:ð
it mean	the speech	the direct	castaway

180- F | That means direct speech is not preferred

After 48 seconds

**18. Speaking directly or indirectly depends on many factors**

ب: حتى في	حاجة	لما	يبقى	المطلب	جماعي (1)	مثلا	اثنى
fj	ha:za	lamma	jabqa	?almatʕlab	zama:ʕj	maθalan	?ihna
in even	something	when	stay it	the request	group	for example	we

181- B | And also if, for example, the request was by a group of people (1) for example we

مثلا (.)	نبوا	حاجة	من	الحكومة	والا	نبوا	معناها
maθalan	nibbu:	ha:za	min	?alhuku:ma	walla	nibu:	maʕna:ha
for example	we want	something	from	the government	or	we want	it mean

182- B | for example (.) we demand something from the government or we want, I mean

طلبنا	نحن	مباشر	حيكون (.)	لكن	لما	يكون	طلب (0.5)
tʕalabna	nahna	muba:fer	hajku:n	lakin	lamma	jaku:n	tʕalab
our request	we	direct	be it will	but	when	be	request

183- B | our request would be direct, it would be (.) but if it was (0.5)

شخصي	أو	فردى	والا (.)	عادة	يكون	غير	مباشر	والله	أنا
ʕaxsʕj	?aw	fardj	walla	ʕadatan	jaku:n	rair	muba:fer	wallahi	?ana
personally	or	individually	or	usually	be	not	direct	by God	I

184- B | a personal request or... (.) usually it would be indirect. For example, I would say I  
185- {as a student in Britain}

كذا	و	اسرتى	كذا	باش	تطلب	منه	منحة
kaða	wa	?usirtj	kaða	ba:ʕ	tutʕlub	minnah	munha
like that	and	my family	like that	to	request you	from him	allowance

186- B | and my family by God = [really] need the student allowance

والا	حاجة
Walla	ha:za
or	something

187- B | or something like that  
[



ف: انت	انت	اترت	نقطة	هامة	جدا	ان	كل	ما تزيد	قوة
?inta	?inta	?atart	nuqta	hamma	ziddan	?inna	kul	matzi:d	qu:at
you	you	evoke you	point	important	very	that	all	enhance	power

188- F [ You, you mentioned a very important point, the more powerful

الشخص	المطالب (غير واضح)	للمباشر	بدل	غير	المباشر (.)	ليش	لان
?affaxs <sup>ʕ</sup>	?allmat <sup>ʕ</sup> alib	lilmuba:fer	badal	rair	?almuba:fer	laiʃ	li?innah
the person	the requester	the direct to	instead	not	the direct	why	because

189- F the person ((not clear)) directly instead of indirect speech (.) because

حصل	القوة	الكافية	انه	هو	يتكلم	بشكل	مباشر
has <sup>ʕ</sup> al	?alqu:a	?alka:fja	?innah	hu:a	jatakallam	bifakil	muba:fer
gained he	the power	the enough	him that	he	speak he	form with	direct

190- F he has sufficient power which gives him the right to speak directly

ز: صح	صح	صح
s <sup>ʕ</sup> ah	s <sup>ʕ</sup> ah	s <sup>ʕ</sup> ah
right	right	right

191- Z Right right right

((غير واضح))
((Not clear))

ر: حسب	مركز	القوة	متاعك
hasab	markaz	?alqu:a	mtaʃik
according	centre	the power	yours

192- R It depends on the power position of the person

ف: القوة	تعطيك	تغير	انك	من	غير	ماكش	مضطر
?alqu:a	taʃt <sup>ʕ</sup> i:k	trair	?innik	min	rair	makif	mud <sup>ʕ</sup> t <sup>ʕ</sup> ar
the power	you give it	change you	you that	of	not	not you	have to

193- F [ power gives you, you can change, you are not obliged to use

لغير	المباشر	لأنك	انت	قوي	سوا	بمجموعة (.)
livair	?almuba:fer	li?annak	?inta	qawj	sawa	bimaʒmu:ʃa
not to	the direct	you because	you	strong	whether	group with

194- F indirect speech because you are in a strong position, whether by a group (.)

سوا	بحكم	سوا	بكونك	أعلى	و	كدا	فتتكلم
sawa	bihukum	sawa	biku:nik	?aʃlā	wa	kada	fatitkallim
whether	rule by	whether	you be with	higher	and	like that	speak you

195- F	or by rule or by being in a superior position and so on so you can speak
--------	--

	مباشرة muba:fera direct	بطريقة bit'ari:qa way with
--	-------------------------------	----------------------------------

196- F	in a direct way
--------	-----------------

	المدير ?almudi:r the administrator	يحكي jahkj speak he	مع maʕa with	رئيس raʔi:s boss	القسم ʔalqism the department	بطريقة bit'ari:qa way with	مباشرة muba:fera direct
--	--	---------------------------	--------------------	------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------

197- B	The boss speaks directly to the head of a department {for example}
--------	--

	ر: مع maʕa with	رئيس raʔi:s boss	القسم ʔalkism the department	بشكل biʕakil form with	مباشر muba:fer direct
--	-----------------------	------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------

198- R	He speaks directly to the head of a department
--------	--

After 7:50 minutes

	أ: هل hal do	تفضل tufad'el prefer	الكلام ʔalkala:m the speech	المباشر ʔalmuba:fer the direct	أم ʔam or	غير rair not	المباشر ʔalmuba:fer the direct	في fj in	الحديث ʔalhadi:t the speech
--	--------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	-----------------	--------------------	--------------------------------------	----------------	-----------------------------------

199- A	Do you prefer to speak directly or indirectly when you speak
--------	--

	مع maʕa with	ال ʔal the	مع (1) maʕa with	الآخرين ʔalʔa:ʕari:n the others	يعني jaʕnj mean	فهمت fhamit understood
--	--------------------	------------------	------------------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------------	------------------------------

200- A	to the aa (1) to others (.) I mean, understand
--------	--

	ر: طبعاً t'abʕan of course	والله wallhi by God	حسب hasab according	الموقف ʔalmau:qif the situation	يعني jaʕnj mean	مثلاً maʕalan for example	هنا hana in	في fj in	بريطانيا brit:t'anja Britain
--	----------------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------	---------------------------------------	-----------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------	----------------	------------------------------------

201- R	Of course, by God = [in fact], it depends, I mean for example here in Britain
--------	---

	الكلام alkala:m the speech	المباشر ʔalmuba:fer the direct	أفضل ʔafd'al better	و wa and	أسرع (0.3) ʔasraʕ faster	تبي tibbj want you	تكلم tkallim speak you	مثلاً maʕalan for example
--	----------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---------------------------	----------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------	---------------------------------

202- R	direct speech is better and faster (0.3) if you want to speak, for example,
--------	---

	شركة ʕarika company	تليفون taljfu:n telephone	تبي tibbj want you	تنتهي tinjh end you	معاهم mʕa:hum or them with	والا walla or	تبي tibbj want you	ادير ʔiddi:r do you	عقد ʕaqid contract
--	---------------------------	---------------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------------

203- R	to a telephone company, or if you want to do or cancel your contract with it
--------	--

علي طول تكلم ووو (.) لكن في ليبيا لازم تامل (1) tʒa:miɫ la:ziɪ li:bya fɪ lakiɪ wwu tkallim tʕu:l ʕala compliment you should Libya in but a a a speak straight on							
204- R	you speak directly aaaa (.) but in Libya you need to compliment (1)						

**19. Indirectness is preferred in criticising others (but is it really indirectness?)**

لو بتنتقد حد (.) انت لو بتجي لحد law btintiqid had ʔinta law bitʒiɪ lihad someone criticize you will if you someone come you will						
205-A	OK, if you criticize someone (.) if you want to					

بتنتقده يعني (.) تجيه مباشر او غير مباشر btintiqdah ʕani: (.) tʒi:h muba:ʕfer ʔaw rair muba:ʕfer him criticize you will mean it come you direct not or direct						
206- A	criticize someone I mean (.) will you use direct or indirect forms					

		ن:	النقد	]	= النقد	]	ʔannaqd	ʔannaqd
							the criticism	the criticism
207- N	[ Criticism criticism =							
	[							

] ʔajh Yes	
208- A	[ Yes

ن: = هي هده (.) hi:a hadj it this	
209- N	[ That is it (.)

ش: والله هو (.) غير مباشر walahi hu:a rair muba:ʕfer by God it not direct			
210- Z	By God = [in fact] it (.) indirect speech ...		

ن: أنا    بفضل    ان    ان    بتكلم    انسان    تكلمه    بالتّي    هي    أحسن ahsan hi:a billatj tkallmah ?insa:n bitkallim ?inna ?inna nfad'al ?ana better it that with him speak you man speak you that that prefer I I	
211- N	[ I prefer when, when speaking to somebody to speak to him politely

(غير واضح)    مهما    تكون    معزتك    ليّه    و    صحبتك s'uhibtik wa li:h ma'azzatik tku:n mahma your friendship and him to your close relationship be whatever	
212- N	((not clear)) the strength of your relationship with them doesn't really matter

و    كدا    ما تجيشي    ما تجيشي    مباشر muba:fer matzjifj aa matzjifj kada wa direct not come you no aa not come you no like that and	
213- N	you can't just criticize them directly

ف: ماهو    ليش ] laif mahu: why it because	
214- F	Do you know why? [

ن: غير    خلي    نكمل (.)    لما    تجيه    مباشر    مرات    الهدف ?alhadaf marrat muba:fer tzi:h lamma nkammil xallj rair the goal sometimes direct him come you when finish I let me just	
215- N 216-	[ Just let me finish (.) because sometimes when you criticize somebody directly, the goal

اللي    جاي    من    أجله (غير واضح) ] ?azlah min za:j ?illj it for of come you that	
217- N	you wanted to achieve ((not clear)) [

ز:    اضيعه    اضيعه    اضيعه    صبح ] s'ah ?id'ajʕah ?id'ajʕah ?id'ajʕah right it lose you it lose you it lose you	
218- Z	Would be missed, would be missed, would be missed, right

ن:    اضيعه    و    تغيّر    الواحد (.)    فلما    تجي    ل    (زهير) (.) zuhaair li tzj falamma alwhaid trair wa ?id'ajʕa Zuhair to come you when the one change you and it lose you	
---	--

219- N	Would be missed and you would change the... (.) so if you wanted to criticize
220-	(Zuhair) (.) {for example}

	اديره	ال	ال	الصحة	اللي	بينك	و	بينه
	?iddi:rah	?al	?al	?als'uhba	?illj	bainak	wa	bainah
	it do you	the	the	the friendship	that	you between	and	him between
221- N	you would start by reminding him of your close relationship and your friendship							

	و	المحبة	و	مش	عارف	شني	و	بعدين	تعطيهاله	في	وجهه
	]	almaqhabba	wa	mif	?a:rif	finj	wa	ba?dain	taft'i:halah	fj	wazhah
	and	the relationship	and	not	know	what	and	then	to give you	in	his face
222- N	whatever and then you punch him to his face = [punch meaning straight to his face]										

	ز:	((ضحك))	ايه	صح	ايه	تعطيه	مقدمات	صح	والله	صح
	]	?ajh	s'ah	?ajh	taft'i:h	muqaddima:t	s'ah	wallahi	s'ah	]
		yes	right	yes	him give you	preliminaries	right	by God	right	right
223- Z	[ ((laughter)) yes right yes you have to prepare him for that right by God =									
224-	[absolutely] right									
	[									

	ن:	لما	تجي	ل	(زهير)	والله	زهير	انت	شن	درت	اليوم↓
	lamma	tjz	lj	zuhair	wallahi	zuhair	?inta	fin	dirt	?alju:m	]
	when	come you	to	Zuhair	by God	Zahair	you	what	did you	today	]
225- N	[ When you speak to (Zuhair) for example, and you say what did you do today↓										
226-	(Zuhair)										

	(.)	والله	تي	شني	هذا (0.5)	يقول	هذا (غير واضح)	((ضحك))
	]	wallahi	tj	finj	hada	jaqu:l	hada	]
		by God	wh	what	this	say he	this	
227- N	what was that (0.5) he would say this ((not clear)) ((laughter))							
	[							

	ف:	صح	لانه	هو	انت	الهدف	انت	الهدف	شني (غير واضح)
	s'ah	li?annah	hu:a	?inta	?alhadaf	?inta	?alhadaf	finj	]
	right	it because	it	you	the goal	you	the goal	what	
228- F	[ Right because your goal is, your goal is to ((not clear))								

<p>انت الهدف حتى لما بتتقدّه =  ] btintiqdah lamma hattà ?alhadaf ?inta  him criticize you will when even the goal you</p>	
229- F	your goal when criticizing him = [

<p>ن: غير خلي نكمل  ] nkammel xallj rair  finish I let just</p>	
230- N	[ Just let me finish [

<p>ف: = انت لما تبني تتقدّه تبني تصلح من حاله  ] halah min ts'allah tibbj tintiqdah tibbj lamma ?inta  his state from amend you want you him criticize you want you when you</p>	
231- F	[ = When you criticize someone you just want him to behave in a better way [

<p>ن: فلانزم تهيه الانس تهيه صاحبك هدا  ] hada s'ahbik thaj?ah falazim ?al?ins thai:a? falazim  this your friend him prepare you should the hum prepare you should</p>	
232- N	[ So you have to prepare the person, you need to prepare your friend

<p>والا من غير صاحبك والا اللي هو لازم (.) تعدّه لل  ] lil t'iddah lazim hu:a ?illj walla s'ahbik rair min walla  to the him prepare you should he who or your friend not of or</p>	
233- N	or whoever you need to (.) prepare him to = [

<p>ن: للنقد  ] linnaqid  criticism to</p>	
234- Z	[ To criticism [

ن: = للنقطة اللي تبي توصلها له قبل ?illj tibtj twas'ilha:lah qabil that you want him to reach before the point to				
235- N	[ To the point you want first			

After 1:09 minutes

20. Directness is mostly used for making requests

أ: متى تستعمل الكلام المباشر و متى تستعمل الغير مباشر (.) mata tistaʕmil ?alkala:m ?almuba:fer wa mata tistaʕmil ?alrair when use you the speech the direct and when use you the not direct when use you the speech the direct and when use you the not direct							
236- A	When do you use direct speech and when do you use indirect speech (.)						

و من هم الأشخاص اللي اللي تستعمل معهم الكلام المباشر wa man hum ?alʔafɣa:sʔ tistaʕmel mʕa:hum ?alkala:m ?almuba:fer and who they the persons who who use you with the speech the direct and who they the persons who who use you with the speech the direct							
237- A	and who are the people do you usually speak directly to? (.)						

و من هم الأشخاص الذين تستعمل معهم الكلام الغير المباشر wa man hum ?alʔafɣa:sʔ tistaʕmel mʕa:hum ?alkala:m ?alrair and who they the persons who who use you with the speech the not direct and who they the persons who who use you with the speech the not direct							
238- A	and who are the people do you usually speak indirectly to?						

س: الكلام المباشر في حالة الطلب (.) لما تطلب مثلا ?alkala:m ?almuba:fer fɣ halat ?altʕalab lamma tutʕlub maθalan the speech the direct in case the request when request you for example the speech the direct in case the request when request you for example							
239- S	Direct speech is used in requests (.) when you request, for example,						

حاجة مثلا انت (2.3) تبي مم haɣa maθalan ?inta tibtj mm something for example you want something for example you want				
240- S	something, for example, you (2.3) if you wanted e mm			

ر: شهادة ميلاد (غير واضح) mi:la:d fahadat birth certificate	
241- R	Birth certificate ((not clear))

س: شهادة ميلاد هذا طلب معناها انت انت في حالة تبي تطلب fahadat mi:la:d haða tʕlab maʕna:ha ?inta ?inta fɣ halat tibtj tatʕlub certificate birth this request it mean you you case in you want you request certificate birth this request it mean you you case in you want you request									
242- S	[ Birth certificate, this is a request I mean you you want to request something								

مثلا	أنس	ماسك	السجل	المدني (.)	نا	يا	أنس	نبي
maθalan	?anas	masik	?alsizil	?almandanj	na:	ja	?anas	nibbj
for example	Anas	catching you	the record	the civil	I	oh	Anas	want I
243- S	for example, if (Anas) works in civil registry (.) I would say (Anas) I want							

شهادة	ميلاد	معناها	انت	تجي	تطلب	شهادة	ميلاد (.)
ʃhadat	mi:la:d	maʕna:ha	?inta	tʒj	tutʕlub	ʃahadat	mi:la:d
certificate	birth	it mean	you	come you	request you	certificate	birth
244- S	Birth certificate I mean you would make the request in a direct way (.)						

في حالة	الطلب (1)	الطلب	الشخصي	مرات	تجي	في ب ب ب
ħalat fj	?altʕalab	?altʕalab	?aʃʃaxsʕj	marra:t	tʒj	b b b fj
case in	the request	the request	the personal	sometimes	come you	b b b in
245- S	in the case of requests (1) personal requests, sometimes when you go to to to to					

ر:	بمصلحة	حكومية
	bimasʕlaħa	ħuku:mja
	department in	governmental
246- R	to a governmental department	

س:	بمصلحة	حكومية	والا ب (.) أو	انك	تكون	في في كيف ما	قلنا
	bimasʕlaħa	ħuku:mja	?aw b walla	?innik	tku:n	fj fj	qulna
	department in	governmental	or b or	you that	be you	in in	said we like how in in
247- S	a governmental department or to (.) or when the request itself, as we already						
248-	mentioned						

بدري . في	طلب جماعي (.)	تبوا	خدمة	معينة	تبوا	انت	توا في ال
fj badrj	tʕalab	zamaʕj	ħidma	muʕai:ana	tibbu:	?inta	?al fj tawa
request in	group	want you	service	certain	you	you	the in now
249- S	before, was by a group of people (.) they want a specific service, for example in the						

في ال ال	حقك	هذا (.) في حالة	يكون	حقك (1)	مثلا	من	الحكومة
?al ?al fj	ħaqqak	ħaða	ħalat fj	ħaku:n	ħaqqak	min	?alhuku:ma
the the in	your right	case in this	be	your right	for example	government from	government from
250- S	in the the, if it was your rights (.) in cases where it was your rights that you're asking						
251-	for (1) for example from the government						

مثلا	ماشي	للمصرف	تبي	تصرف	شيك
maθalan	ma:ʃj	lilmasʕrif	tibbj	tusʕruf	ʃaik
for example	walking you	the bank to	want you	withdraw money you	cheque
252- S	for example, when you go to the bank to withdraw some money				

تعطيهم	شيك (.)	هذا	حقك	هذا	طلب (.) مباشر (.)	مديته
taʕti:hum	ʃaik	ħaða	ħaqqak	ħaða	tʕalb	mubai:ʃer
them give you	cheque	this	your right	this	request	him to gave you
253- S	you just give the banker a cheque (.) this is your rights and this is a direct (.) request					
254-	(.) you just give the banker					



	شيك	والا	تقوله	اعطيني	فلوسي
	faik	walla	tqu:lah	?aʕtʔi:nj	flu:sj
	cheque	or	him to say you	me give	my money
255- S	[ the cheque or you say give me my money ]				

## 21. Directness does not mean 'fighting'

	ف: هذا	اللي	مفروض	يصير	لكن	انت	لما	تمشي	للمصرف (.) هات
	hada	?illj	mafru:dʃ	jasʔi:r	lakin	?inta	lamma	timʃj	ha:t lilmasʔrif
	this	that	supposed	happen	but	you	when	walk you	give the bank to
256- F	[ This is what is supposed to happen, but when you go to the bank (.) do you say ]								

	اعطيني	فلوسي (.)
	?aʕtʔi:nj	flu:sj
	me give	my money
257- F	[ give me my money! (.) ]	

	ر: لا لا	المباشر	مش	معناها	(غير واضح)
	la la	?almuba:ʃer	mif	maʕna:ha	
	no no	the direct	not	it mean	
258- R	[ No no direct speech doesn't mean ((not clear)) ]				

	(غير واضح)
	[ ((Not clear)) ]

	ر: معناها	تطلب	الشي	بشكل	مباشر
	maʕna:ha	tatʔlub	?alfaj	bifakil	muba:ʃer
	it mean	request you	the thing	form with	direct
259- R	[ It means you make requests in a direct way ]				

	م: تطلب	الشي	مباشر
	tatʔlub	?alfaj	muba:ʃer
	request you	the thing	direct

260- M	[ you request something directly ]
--------	--

	<p>ز: مباشر ص ص  s'ah s'ah muba:fer  right right direct</p>
261- Z	[ Direct right right ]

	<p>ر: تقول الكلام بشكل مباشر (غير واضح) مش ماشي تعارك  t'a:rik mafj mij muba:fer bifakil ?alkala:m tqu:l  fight you walking you not direct form with the speech say you</p>
262- R	[ You are just saying it directly ((not clear)) you are not fighting ]

## 22. Direct requests are different from pre-requests

	<p>ف: تجي انت توقف عليه تقوله نبي جواز سفر (.)  safar zawa:z nibbj tqu:lah ?alaih tu:qif ?inta tzj  passport want I him to say you him at stand you you come you</p>
263- F	[ If you need a passport {for example}, would you request it directly (.) ]

	<p>ر: تقوله لو سمحت  samahat law tqu:lah  allow you if him to say you</p>
264- R	[ You would say please ]

	<p>س: بتقولها لو سمحت هده  hadj samahat law bitqu:lha  this allow you if it say you will</p>
265- S	[ You would say 'please' ]

	<p>ف: شن حالك يا حاج شن اخبارك ان شاء الله الامور تمام  tama:m ?al?umu:r ?allah ja:? ?in ?ayba:rik fin ha:3 ja ha:lik fin  perfect the matters God willing if your news what Hajj oh your state what</p>
--	--

266- F	You would say, how are you how is it going, I hope everything is fine [					
] ر: هذا هذا أسلوب اخر هذا الادبيات ] haða haða ?uslu:b haða ?a:ʁer haða ?alʔadabja:t this this method another this the politeness this						
267- R	[ This is another technique, this is politeness [					
] س: هذا الادبيات للمباشر ] haða ?alʔadabja:t lilmuba:fer this the politeness the direct to						
268- S	[ This is a polite direct speech [					
] ف: لكن ماتجيشي انت مباشر ] lakin matzi:fj ?inta muba:fer but not come you no you direct						
269- F	[ But you can't say it directly [					
] ر: لكن الطلب مباشر ] lakin ?altʕalab muba:fer but the request direct						
270- R	[ But the request itself is direct [					
] س: لا لا الغير مباشر مثلا تجي مثلا تقوله la? la? ?avair muba:fer maθalan tʒj maθalan tqu:lah no no the not direct for example come you for example him to say you						
271- S	[ No no indirect speech is when you say to someone for example [					
مثلا نا (.) مثلا عندي جاني عيل في في 87 والا في 86 maθalan na maθalan ʕindj ʒa:nj ʕai:l fj .fj fj for example. I for example I have I me came in in or in 86 87 86 87 86 87						

272- S | for example I (.) I would say, for example, my boy was born in 87 or in 86

و	العل	هذا	كبر	و	طلبوا (.)	و	مشى	يبي
wa	?al?ai:l	haða	kabar	wa	tʕulbu:	wa	mʃa	jebbj
	the child	this	grew up he	and	requested they	and	walked he	want he

273- S | and when he grew up he had been requested (.) when he wanted

يتعين	و	لما	يبي	يتعين	طلبوا	منه	شهادة	ميلاد
jetʕajen	wa	lamma	jebbj	jetʕajen	tʕulbu:	minnah	ʃaha:dat	mi:la:d
work he	and	when	want he	work he	request they	him from	birth certificate	birth

274- S | to work he had been requested to bring birth certificate

After 1 minute

س: لكن	هو	المقصود	بالغير	المباشر	هو	اتك	تحكي
lakin	hu:a	?almaqʃu:d	bilʕair	?almuba:ʃer	hu:a	?innik	tahkj
but	it	the meant	the not with	the direct	it	you that	speak you

275- S | But indirect speech is when you speak

زي	ما	نقولوا	احنا	بالقرن
zaj	ma	nqwlū:	?ihna	bilqarin
as	like	say we	we	the horn with

276- S | as we say, indirectly

ن: (غير واضح)	المرّة	الاولى	أبوه
?almarra	?al?u:là	?ajwa	]
the once	the first	yes	

277- N | ((Not clear)) the first time yes

س: أنت	مثلا	لاقدر	الله =
?inta	maθalan	laqaddar	?allah
you	for example	forbid	God

278- S | If you, for example, 'God forbid' =

### 23. An example of using a third person to send indirect messages

		ف: تلف عليه لفان
		laffa:n ʕlajh tliɸ
		turning him on turn you
279- F	[ You go around ]	

		س: = فيك عيب معين (.) مانجيش نقول مثلا (.) لا قدر الله
		?allah laqaddar maθalan nqu:l manzi:f muʕajen ʕajb fi:k
		God forbid for example say I not come I no specific fault you in
280- S	[ = If you suffer from a certain shortcoming (.) I can't just say for example (.) God	
281-	forbid	

		مثلا (.) اا فتحي هذا مثلا (.) مثلا يعني (.) والا مهند
		muhannad walla jaʕnj maθalan maθalan haða fathj aaa maθalan
		Muhannad or mean for example for example this Fathi aaa for example
282- S	For example (.) aaa (Fathi) for example (.) for example I mean (.) or (Muhannad)	

		مثلا (.) رجل اا عنده مشاكل والا رجل أخلاقه مش كويسة
		kwajsa miɸ ʔaxla:qah razul walla mafa:kil ʕindah aa razul maθalan
		good not his morals man or problems has he aa man for example
283- S	For example (.) was a man aa who suffers from shortcomings or he was ill-bred	

		والا رجل بخيل والا رجل (.) نبقي نحن كجماعة هكي نعزقوا
		naʕizqu: hikkj kaʕama:ʕa naħna nabqà razul walla bayi:l razul walla
		throw we like that group as we stay we man or stingy man or
284- S	or he was stingy or he was (.) we as a group would just throw words	

		فيها والله فلان هذا والله البخل مش كويس والله مش عارف
		ʕa:riɸ miɸ wallahi kwajs miɸ ʔalbuxl wallahi haða fula:n wallahi fi:ha
		know I not God by good not the stinginess God by this man God by it in
285- S	towards him, we would say for example, this man is, or by God = [really] stinginess	
286-	is not good and things like that	

		ايش والله فلان يعني (.) فلان في الزمن اللي كذا كذا كان فيه
		fi:h ka:n kaða kaða ʔillj ʔazzaman fj fula:n jaʕnj fula:n wallahi ʔajɸ
		it in was like that like that that age in man mean man God by what
287- S	by God = [really] that man I mean (.) we would say for example, in the past there	

واحد	بخیل	كان	مش	عارف	ایش	والا	هني	(.)	والا	كانت	مشاكله	واجادات
wazda:t	maja:klah	ka:nit	walla	hnj	walla	?ajf	ʕa:rif	mif	ka:n	baxi:l	wa:hid	
many	his	problems	were	or	here	or	what	know	I	not	was	stingy one
288- S	was a man who was stingy and things like that (.) or he was suffering from lots of											
289-	problems											

	والا	الناس	كانت	تكرهه	لانه	بخیل	
							]
	baxi:l	li?annah	takerhah	ka:nit	?anna:s	walla	
	stingy	him	because	him	hate	they	were the people or
290- S	or people hated him because he was stingy						
	[						

	ن:	ما	تجيش	تقوله	انت	بخیل	و	معاش	اضله	بخیل	
											]
	baxi:l	?ad'allah	maʕa:f	wa	baxi:l	?inta	tqu:lah	ma:tʕi:f			
	stingy	stay	you	not	and	stingy	you	him	to	say	you not come it no
291- N	[ It is very difficult to just say 'you are stingy and don't be like that'										

((ضحك))											
((Laughter))											

س:	والا	مشاكله	واجادات	والله	الناس	دائما	ما	ما	ماتحبش	
										]
	mathibbij	ma	ma	da:ʕiman	?anna:s	wallahi	wa:ʕda:t	maja:klah	walla	
	not	like	they	no	no	no	always	the	people	God by many his problems or
292- S	Or he had many problems and people usually don't like {socialise with}									

	تخالط	الناس	اللي	مشاكلهم	واجادات	
						]
	wa:ʕda:t	maja:kilhum	?illj	?anna:s	tuxa:lit	
	many	their	problems	who	the	people do relations
293- S	those who have many problems					
	[					

#### 24. Directness is mostly used for making requests

	ف:	باهي	انت	واحد	(.)	باهي	(.)	تبي	مني	فلوس	(0.5)	تبي
												]
	tibbj	ba:hj	flu:s	minnj	tibbj	?inta	ba:hj	wahid	?inta	ba:hj		
	want	you	ok	money	me	from	want	you	you	ok	one	you ok
294- F	[ OK, if someone (.) OK, if I owe you money (0.5) OK (.) if I owe											

	مني	فلوس	(1)	انت	جاي	طلب	زي	ما	جاي	
										]
	minnj	flu:s	?inta	za:j	t'alab	za:j	ma	zaj	za:j	
	me	from	you	money	coming	you	as	request	coming	you
295- F	you money (1) when you want it back, this request is the same as									

	طلب	الشهادة	انت	توا	والا	
	tʕalab	ʔaʃʃahada	ʔinta	tawa	walla	
	request	the certificate	you	now	or not	
296- F	the request of birth certificate, isn't it?					

	س: تمام	
	tama:m	
	fine	
297- S	OK	

	ف: شن	بتقولي	توا	لما	تبي	مني	فلوس	
	ʃin	bitqu:llj	tawa	lamma	tibbj	minnj	flu:s	
	what	me to say you will	now	when	you want	me from	money	
298- F	So what would you say when you want your money back							

	ن:	بنقولك	لو	سمحت	يا	فتحي	كان	ربي	فاتح	عليك
		binqu:lik	law	samaht	ja	fathj	ka:n	rabbj	fatih	ʃalajk
		you to say I will	if	allowed you	oh	Fathi	if	my lord	open	you on
299- N	I would say (Fathi) if Allah opens it to you = [if you can], if you don't mind									

	خلصني	
	χallisʕnj	
	me give my money	
300- N	give me my money back	

	ر:	خلصني	
		] χallisʕnj	
		me give my money	
301- R	Give me my money back		

	ز:	خلصني	ايه	
		] χallisʕnj	ʔaih	
		me give my money	yes	
302- Z	[ Give me my money back yes			

	ف: هذا	مباشر	والا	غير	مباشر	
		muba:ʃer	walla	rair	muba:ʃer	
		direct	or	not	direct	
303- F	Is this direct or indirect speech?					

ر: هذا مباشر ] muba:fer haða direct this	
304- R	[ It is direct [

س: مباشر ] muba:fer direct	
305- S	[ Direct [

م: مباشر لكن مؤدب ] muba:fer lakin mu?addab direct but polite	
306- M	[ Direct but polite [

After 1:47

**25. Indirectness is more common among women**

أ: هل الكلام الغير مباشر منتشر أكثر بين الرجال (2) ?alkala:m ?alvair muba:fer muntafer ?aktar bajn ?arriza:l the speech do the not direct widespread more between the men	
307- A	Is indirect speech more common among men (2)

أم بين النساء ?am bajn ?annisa:? or between the women	
308- A	or women

ف: النساء (0.7) ?annisa:? the women	
309- F	among women (0.7)

م: المباشر المباشر والا غير المباشر ] ?almuba:fer ?almuba:fer walla rair ?almuba:fer the direct he direct or t not the direct	
310- M	Direct, direct or indirect? [



		]ال: الكلام الغير مباشر ]muba:fer ?alvair ?alkala:m ?al direct the not the speech the			
311- A	[ Indirect speech [				

		] ر: بين النساء ] ?annisa:? bajn the women between	
312- R	[ Among women [		

		] م: بين النساء ?annisa:? bajn the women between	
313- M	[ Among women		

((غير واضح))					
((Not clear))					

## 26. Why indirectness is used more by women

ف: لانه شنو قلنا علاش (1) واحدة من الاسباب (.) ان الرجل ?arrazil ?inna ?al?asba:b min wahida ?ala:f qulna jinw li?annah the man that the reasons of one why said we what because								
314- F	Do you know why? (1) one of the reasons is that (.) men							

في	مواقف	معينة	عنده	نوع	من	القوة (0.5)	يمكن	يحس	روحه قوي (.)
fj	mawaqif	muʕajana	ʕindah	nu:ʕ	min	ʔalqu:a	jumkin	jehis	ru:hah qawj
in	situations	specific	has he	type	of	the power	possible it	feel he	strong he
315- F	in certain situations have a kind of power (0.5) they might feel strong (.)								

<div>يجي قدام مرة والا قدام زوجته والا بنته jezj qidda:m marah walla qidda:m zawzatah walla bintah come he in front of woman or in front of his wife or his daughter</div>							
316- F	so one might speak to a woman such as his wife or his daughter						

		يكون كلامه مباشر لكن النساء (0.4) النساء بصفة عامة (0.5) هذه hadih ?a:mmah bis'ifa ?ansa:wi:n ?ansa:wi:n lakin muba:fer kala:mah jaku:n this general in the women the women but direct his speech be						
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

317- F	directly but women (0.4) women in general (0.5) usually
--------	---

متعودين	علي	حاجات	زي	هديا	ماهمش	متاعين	عنف (.)
mitʕu:di:n	ʕalà	ħa:ʒa:t	zaj	hadja	ma:humuʃ	mta:ʕi:n	ʕunf
accustomed they	on	things	like	this	not they no	of	violence

318- F	don't have a tendency to speak in an aggressive way (.)
--------	---

و عادة	الكلام	المباشر	ديمة	ليه	ترتيبات	فيها	عنف
ʕadatan wa	ʔalkala:m	ʔalmuba:ʃer	di:ma	li:h	tarti:ba:t	fi:ha	ʕunf
usually and	the speech	the direct	always	have	arrangements	it in	violence

319- F	and direct speech is usually aggressive
--------	---

و فيها	كدا	و	فيها	ردة فعل	سيئة
fi:ha wa	kada	wa	fi:ha	fiʕel raddat	sajʔah
it in and	like that	and	it in	reaction	bad

320- F	and the reaction to it is usually bad and so on
--------	---

أ: لكن هو الكلام الغير مباشر أكثر شي (.) للنساء	lakin	hu:a	ʔalkala:m	ʔalrair	muba:ʃer	ʔaktar	faj	linnisa:ʔ
but it the speech the not direct more thing the women to		it	the speech	the not	direct	more	thing	

321- A	But indirect speech is more common among (.) women
--------	--

ف: هم يتجاملوا بيه هم ليش (.) لانهم يبوا	humma	jetza:mlu:	bi:h	humma	lajf	liʔannhum	jebbu:
they compliment they it with they why them because want they		compliment they	it with	they	why	them because	want they

322- F	They usually use it (.) because they want
--------	---

يوصلوا رسالتهم بدون ما ينضروا منها	jwsʕlu:	risa:lithum	bidu:n	majendʕarru:	minha
reach they their message without they harm they it from		their message	without	harm they	it from

323- F	to convey their messages without being affected by them
--------	---

After 2:11 minutes

27. Indirect speech which is used by women is mostly negative

أ: باهي هو تتبع السؤال و هل هذا النوع منتشر	ba:hj	hu:a	ʔatbaʕ	ʔasswʔa:l	wa	hal	hada	ʔannu:ʕ	muntafer
ok it it follow the question and do this the kind widespread		it	follow it	the question	and	do	this	the kind	widespread

324- A	OK, there's a completion of the last question, is indirect speech aa
--------	--

هل هذا النوع سلبي أم ايجابي يعني (0.6)	hal	hada	ʔannu:ʕ	salbj	ʔam	ʔjza:bj	jaʕnj
do this the kind negative or positive mean		this	the kind	negative	or	positive	mean

325- A	is this kind of speech negative or positive I mean (0.6)
--------	--

] ((أصوات في الخلفية))	
[ ((Not clear))	

ف: سلبى سلبى (.) salbj salbj negative negative	
326- F	Negative negative (.)

ر: نعم naʕam yes	
327- R	What

أ: هذا ال السؤال هذا الاخير اللي توا سألتهملكم (.) hada ʔal ʔasswʔa:l hada ʔalʔaxi:r ʔillj tawa saʔalthu:lkum this the question this the last that now you to it ask I	
328- A	This was the, the last question I asked you (.)

هل ا سلبى ام ايجابى يعنى ] jaʕnj ʔjʒa:bj ʔam salbj aa hal mean positive or negative aa do	
329- A	is it negative or positive I mean [

ف: سلبى جدا (0.4) ziddan . salbj very negative	
330- F	[ So negative (0.4)

أ: اللي هو اااا هل الكلام الغير المباشر منتشر أكثر بين ʔillj hua: ʔannisa:ʔ ʔam ʔarriʒa:l ʔannisa:ʔ fhamit hal wa hada ʔannu:ʕ salbj ʔjʒa:bj ʔam that it do aaaa the women or men positive or negative the kind this do and understood the women or men	
331- A	The question was that aaaa, is indirect speech more common among

الرجال ام النساء (.) فهمت (.) و هل هذا النوع (.) سلبى ام ايجابى ʔjʒa:bj ʔam salbj ʔannu:ʕ hada hal wa fhamit ʔannisa:ʔ ʔam ʔarriʒa:l positive or negative the kind this do and understood the women or men	
332- A	men or women (.) OK. (.) and is this kind of speech (.) negative or positive?

س: سلبى لانه يسبب مشاكل واجد (1) بين العائلات بالذات (.) salbj liʔannah jusabib mafa:kil wa:ʒid bajn ʔalʕa:ʔila:t biðða:t negative it because cause it many problems between the families especially	
333- S	Negative because it causes lots of problems (1) especially among families

ف: ايه	لانه	شني	مرات	يا	(أنس)	الكلام	غير	المباشر
?aih	li?annah	ʃinj	marrat	ja	?anas	?alkala:m	rair	?almuba:fer
yes	it because	what	sometimes	oh	Anas	the speech	not	the direct

334- F Yes (A), because sometimes indirect speech is

لا	يفهم	صح
la	jufham	s'ah
no	understood it	right

335- F misunderstood

ز: صح (.)
s'ah
right

336- Z Right (.)

ف: و	تبنى	عليه	أشياء (.)	و	بعدين	نقولك	التوسع
wa	tubna	ʃlajh	?ajja:?	wa	baʃdajn	nqu:lik	?attawassuʃ
and	build it	it on	things	and	then	you to say I	the expansion

337- F And different interpretations can be built on it (.) because indirect speech is very  
338- broad

هو	الكلام	غير	المباشر	اللي	هو	غير	مباشر	حيكون	فيه (0.5)
hu:a	?alkala:m	rair	?almuba:fer	?illj	hu:a	rair	muba:fer	hajku:n	fi:h
it	the speech	not	the direct	that	it	not	direct	be it will	it in

339- F indirect speech, indirect speech is (0.5)

اتساع	أكثر	في	الدوة
?itisa:ʃ	?aktar	fj	?addu:a
expansion	more	in	the speech

340- F It opens to different interpretations

((غير واضح))
((Not clear))

ف: الاتساع	أكثر	في	الدوة	هذا (.)	هديا	ال	ال	الكلام	الواسع	هذا
?al?ittisa:ʃ	?aktar	fj	?addu:a	hada	hadaja	?al	?al	?alkal:m	?alwa:siʃ	hada
the expansion	more	in	the speech	this	this	the	the	the speech	the wide	this

341- F The broadness of indirect speech (.) this the the, broad speech

		(.) قابل للتأويل = ] ?ata?wi:l interpretation to qa:biI possible
342- F	can be interpreted in many different ways [	

		م: التأويل ] صح ] s'ah ?ata?wi:l right interpretation
343- M	[ can be interpreted in different ways, right [	

		ف: = و تطلع منه حاجات اخرى فرعية و انت تقصدي = ] tuqus'dj ?inti wa farSi:a ?uxra ha:za:t minnah tat'laS wa mean you you and subsidiary other things it from get out it and
344- F 345-	[ So it might be understood differently and people start accusing each other, you {for female} mean this = [	

		س: يبنن عليه ايه (.) تفسيرات ] tafsi:ra:t ?aih S1ajh janbnan interpretations yes it on build it
346- S	[ Yes, different interpretations (.) are built on it [	

## 27. An example of indirect speech that is used by women

		ف: = و انت تقصدي ايه (.) لما تجي لواحد (.) نعطيك مثال ] mita:l naft'i:k liwa:hid t3j lamma ?aih tuqus'dj ?inti wa example you give I one to come she when yes mean you you and
347- F 348-	[ = or you {for female} mean that, yes (.) when she comes to someone (.) let me give you an example	

		مثلا (.) لما تجي نساوين مقعزين مع بعضهم ] baSd'hum maSa mqaSimzi:n nsa:wi:n mra t3j lamma matalan together with sitting they women woman come she when for example
349- F	for example (.) in a women gathering, one of them might	

و هي تبي تورى ان الصالون متاعكم انتو ما ينفعش (.)	wa hi:tibbj turrj inna as'a:lu:n mta:skum ?intw majanfaʃiʃ	and she want she show she that the sofa yours you good it no
350- F	want to show that the house's owner's sofa is not nice	

بتقولهاها لكن ماتبيش تقولهاها مباشر	bitqu:lilha lakin matibi:ʃ tqu:lilha muba:ʃer	she will her to it say she not want she no but her to it say she direct
351- F	so she would say, but not in a direct way,	

((غير واضح))		]
((Not clear))		[

ف: والله طلعو موديلات جديدة متع صالونات (.) معاش مثلا زي ال	ʃal zaʃ matalan maʃa:ʃ s'a:lu:na:t mtaʃ zadi:da mu:daila:t t'wɬu: wallahi	the like for example not sofas of new models get out they God by
352- F	[ By God = [in fact] there are many new trends of sofas in markets nowadays (.) so	

(.) الموديلات القديمة مثلا زي الصالون هذا عرفت (0.5)	ʃalmwdaila:t ʃalqadi:ma matalan zaʃ as'a:lu:n hada ʃaruft	the models the old for example like the sofa this you know
353- F	such these old sofas as yours are not used any more, understand (0.5)	

شفتها الرسالة انت كيف	ʃuʃtha ʃarrisa:la ?inta ki:f	it saw the message you how
354- F	do you see the message	

أ: أم (.)	emm	emm
355- A	Emm (.)	

ن: يا ودي هذه اعطتهاها في السنون هذه	ja widdj hadih ʃaʃtitʃha:lha fj ʃassnu:n hadih	oh my darling this her to it gave she in the teeth this
356- N	In fact she really punched her in the teeth = [offended her]	

((ضحك))		]
((laughter))		[

]							
ف: تمشي	هديك	تقولها	خيره	الصالون	هدا (.)	قسما	بالله
timfj	hadika	tqu:lilha	χajrah	ʔasʕa:lu:n	hada	qasaman	billah
walk she	that	her to say she	it good	the sofa	this	swear I	God with
[							
357- F So the offended woman would say, what is wrong with my sofas (.) by God [really]							

				هدا	خدितه	الا	امس
				hada	χdaitah	ʔilla	ʔamis
				this	it took I	just	yesterday
358- F I just bought them yesterday							

## **Appendix (E): English Focus Group Data Discussion**

I carried out a focus group discussion with a number of British participants who were native English speakers as part of my research. They were five females and one male who took part in the group. As in the case for all of the recordings in this study, the discussion was recorded after obtaining the full and prior permission of the participants to do so and the data presented have been anonymised. I recorded an approximately 22 minute interaction and the participants who took part in my discussion were all primary school teachers, with ages ranging from 24 to 56 years old. I labelled the individuals who were present at the discussion as follows: R: 24 years old; D: 26 years old; K: 34 years old; J: 43 years old; M: 45 years old; P (male informant): 56 years old and Zainab: myself. The English Focus Group discussion starts on page 177 and ends on page 189.



## 1. Defining directness and indirectness

- 1- Z: I'd like to know what is the difference between (1) what's directness and indirectness  
2- and what is the difference between them (.)  
3- M: Sorry w  
[  
4- Z: Directness and indirectness  
[  
5- M: Oh directness and indirectness  
[  
6- Z: yeah (0.8)  
7- K: And what is the difference between them (0.5) direct is (0.7) in the way that talking!  
8- Z: Yeah (.)  
9- K: So direct is speaking (0.5) directly to somebody (0.3) and indirect is (.)  
10- M: Like making a comment  
11- P: Not clear  
12- K: So for example I might say to John<sup>6</sup> (2) emm your shirt doesn't suit you (.) to his face  
13- (1.3) or indirect (.) might be to say that  
14- Noise, not clear  
15- K: Although it'd be like Jo:::hn =  
[  
16- M: Now sometimes  
[  
17- K: = worn a pink suit a pink shirt then  
[  
18- D: Yeah ((laughter))  
[  
19- P: Yeah ((laughter))  
[

## 2. Indirectness can be confusing

- 20- M: Yeah but sometimes direct  
21- and indirect is like I said are we meeting on Saturday and the person I said it to went oh  
22- aaa o:h I d o:h (0.4) and gave me an indirect answer (.) so I assumed that it is still going  
23- to be happening (0.6) had she's just given me a direct answer and said no  
[  
25- K: No  
26- M: (0.3) Then (0.5) I would've been less confused and  
27- K: emm  
28- M: less (.) so there is (.) direct and indirect like that but there is also direct like you say (.)  
29- there's something you might say directly to certain people but not to others

---

<sup>6</sup> John (anonymised name) is the head teacher of the school.

### 3. When to use directness and indirectness

30- Z: Emm (0.8) so you you y I can understand that you see indirect speech more polite than  
31- direct one

32- K: Yeah (0.5) I think so at times yeah

[  
33- M: Depending on (.) what the (0.3) whether you really need the answer  
34- (.) or (.) whether it's about something important (.) or whether it's something (.) less  
35- important so it doesn't really matter about John's shirt not suiting him because (.) your  
36- are not his wife

[  
37- K: No

38- ((Laughter))

[  
39- M: So if he asked his wife does this shirt look nice and she's gone emm emmm=

[  
40- P: ((laughter))  
[

### 4. Directness is required in some situations

41- M: and not  
42- giving him a direct answer but if he was going somewhere important and she s he said  
43- does this shirt look nice (0.8) and she gives the (.) direct opinion (.) no (.) wear the blue  
44- one  
45- ((Laughter))

[  
46- M: Or like that

[  
47- P: Yeah

[  
48- M: Whereas if you said it it doesn't really matter whether you (0.3) your  
49- opinion is not that much

[  
50- D They emmm if it was a medical (not clear) urgent important they need direct it  
51- needs to be

52- Z: yes (.) yes

53- D: I think there are different reasons to

[  
((Coughing))  
[

### 5. Indirectness is more polite than directness and English people tend to be indirect

54- R: I I agree with what you're saying about it's more polite to be indirect

55- Z: emmm

56- R: err I think err English:: (.) people aaa oh are going around the house you know

[  
57- D: Yeah  
[

58- K:

Yeah

[

59- M:

I completely

60- agree

[

61- R: to to try and (1) so

((Not clear))

### *6. Directness is required in some situations*

62- M: Because sometimes you're better to (.) grab the ball by the hands and give somebody

63- the direct opinion (.) err this needs to happen so that this can go forward (.) whereas if

64- you go well we're having a bit of an issue and we are not really and you're faffing

65- around =

[

66- Z: ((laughter))

[

67- M: = If not got the point ((laughter))

[

68-

((Laughter))

[

69- R:

I think we'll miss the point emah

[

70- M:

But then

[

71- K:

I think that's what

[

### *7. Directness can be rude*

72- M:

then being

73- direct is considered ((not clear)) in rude sometimes so

74- Z: So

### *8. Using indirectness to avoid confrontation is seen polite*

[

75- R: People yeah use generalizing to try to be indirect we'r doing that a lot instead of

76- confronting you or criticizing you I might say oh somepeople had an issue with this↑ and

77- it doesn't mean you=

[

78-K:

Yeah

[

79-R:

= it means a specific person =

[

80- Z:

Emm

[

81- R:

= but not (.) ((not clear))

[

82- K:

it's more polite yeah

[

### *9. Directness is required in some situations*

- 83- P: But you might give  
84- (.) directness if you if you're doing (0.5) directions so if I was (0.5) couching somebody  
85-to do (.) some first aid↑ it hhh won't be 81-(.) well if you'd like to↑ ((Laughter))

After 8 seconds

### *10. Speaking directly or indirectly depends on the situation and interactants' relationship*

- 86- Z: So that's according to the situation (.)  
87- K: Yeah  
[  
88- P: Yes it it it's the situation  
[  
89- J: Yeah  
[  
90- K: I think I think if it's the less formal situation (.) it's the more indirect (.)  
91- Z: the less formal!  
92- K: Yeah  
93- R: could be could be direct to your friends can't you =  
[  
94- M: Yeah  
[  
95- K: Yeah  
[  
96- R: say to John, why you put that shirt on

After 14 seconds

### *11. Power or solidarity*

- 97- M: Oh yeah and I would never ever ever dream of saying anything like that to John (.)  
98- J: I wouldn't (.)  
99- K: I↑ would↓  
100- ((Laughter))  
((Not clear))  
[

### *12. Speaking directly or indirectly depends on three main factors*

- 101- K: do you know what I mean it wouldn't be (0.5) you see that thing as the whole situa  
102- (.) it is (.) it does it depends on the whole situation how familiar we are with the person  
103- ((not clear)) yeah and the importance of it I think (.)  
104-R: Yeah (.)  
105- K: I think they are the three things that would really (0.3)  
106- M: Sorry say that again  
107- K: I think the importance of it (.) the familiarity that you have with the other person or  
108- the other group of people you're talking to (0.3) what ((very low voice, not clear)) I said  
(1.5)

109- R: Situation (.)  
110- Z: situation  
[  
111- K: and the situation you are in with them  
112- M: emmm (0.3)  
113- K: they might the three things (not clear)  
[

### *13. The role of the position of the person*

114- M: yes becau and also (0.8) they (1.6) what's the word (0.3) the position of  
115- the person so I would talk even though I'm very close to my mum=  
[  
116- K: Yeah  
[  
117- M: = these things I wouldn't (.) say  
118- (.) to my mum (.) that I might say to my friend even though I'm closr to my mum (.)  
119- because it's a certain amount used to do with respect as well  
120- K: Yeah (1)  
121- Z: So aa it's a matter of power (.)  
122- All: Yeah  
123- Z: That that  
[  
124- M: Like you will ((not clear)) joke with Jhon and I wouldn't dream of it

### *14. Which is more preferred: directness or indirectness*

125- Z: Yeah (.) emm yeah (0.5) yeah (.) so aa do you prefer to speak directly or indirectly  
126- and why (1)  
127- D: indirect  
[  
128- D: It depends  
129- M: I like to speak directly  
130- Z: ((Laughter))

### *15. Being indirect is more polite, and directness can be misunderstood*

[  
131- M: But then sometimes I have to be indirect so that (.) I'm being polite (0.5) cause  
132- sometimes it comes to rude as been brooked or shirty or whatever when it isn't really  
133- intended so after thinking about it sometimes and not (.) going straight for the  
134- K: Emmm  
135- M: This is what I want (.) and this is what I'm going to ask John ask directly and  
136- everybody is like how rude ((laughter)) so to think about it ((laughter))



### *16. Indirectness is more polite than directness*

- 137- Z: [ Speaking in indirect way  
138- then is more polite than speaking indirectly  
139- P: [ Yeah  
140- K: I'm more indirect at home  
141- M: And you're more polite ((laughter))  
142- K: [ Apart from ap(hhh)art from my pa(hh)rtner ((laughter)) and then  
143- J: [ Yeah I'm indirect

### *17. Directness is required sometimes*

- 144- K: [ I'm  
145- probably becoming more direct in my job (.) just because of (.)  
146- J: We have to, don't we?  
147- K: Yeah  
148- J: it's hard (.) is hard when you (not clear) kind of person to have to be like kind of  
149- person as well  
150- Z: Emm  
151- J: because I need to do it more  
152- Z: Emm

### *18. English is mostly indirect*

- 153- J: But I still wouldn't be direct (.) I would still do it in the way that I feel is the right way  
154- to do it  
155- Z: Emm  
156- D: [ It's very English theme  
157- K: John is very good of being indirect =  
158- D: [ Yeah  
159- R: [ Aha  
160- K: [ = but you know the message is trying to relate you

### *19. Indirectness can be confusing*

- 161- M: [ Aaa yes and  
162- it's lost of me sometimes =  
163- J: [ Aa is it  
164- M: [ = he is so d indirect that I've lost it it's like no (.) a bit more ((not clear))  
165- D: [ Very diplomatic isn't it?

166- K: [ Yeah  
167- J: [ Yeah it is  
168- K: Yeah he's very yeah diplomatic (.) that's the word (.) emm (0.5)  
169- M: And that's where it falls down sometimes cause there is some people  
170- All: ((Laughter))  
171- M: ((Laughter)) we don't always pick up on the (.)  
172- K: They need it saying how it is  
173- M: [ Yeah

After 20 seconds

*20. Making direct requests can cause offence*

174- Z: So (.) when you want to requ to:: request something you sometimes can't say it  
175 directly just try to =  
[  
176-P: yeah  
[  
177- J: Yeah  
[  
178- D: Yeah  
[  
179- Z: find a way  
[  
180- D: You don't want to hurt the person  
[  
181- J: I think (.) there is a worry that if you're direct with  
182- somebody that you might (.)  
183- R: Upset them  
[  
184- J: Upset them yeah hurt them  
185- D: you'd not actually get the best from people always as well you can actually get a  
186- more and and (0.5) it sort of shows more (not clear)  
[  
187- K: Susan is very good of being indirect, isn't she?  
[  
188- D: Yes she is

*21. Avoiding Directness is also a matter of being seen polite by others*

189- P: [ It's it's not just it's not just for that but  
190- also (.) how (.) you perceive they will think about you (1.5) as well you know if you ask  
191 directly it's like oh oh how o::h Gosh yeah (.)  
192- K: Have I upset them  
[  
193- P: Have I upset them  
194- K: Yeah

After 39 seconds

*22. Directness is mostly used with and accepted from children, but avoided with adults*

195- R: In the workplace obviously if you need something from someone it's quite important

196- you're quite direct about what you need

197- K: you can still do it in a way (not clear)

[  
((Not clear voices))

198- M:

[  
But also I think you need to be quite direct with

199- children (.) because sometimes if you

200- D: [ Can't infer what you mean

201- M:

[  
They can't infer what you mean when it's a

202- small child because they're not always going to understand the inference and (0.3) it's a

203- sophisticated thing for an older (0.5)

204- Z: Yes yes (2)

205- D: Yeah I thi I pu yeah I'm probably more direct with children than I'm with adults

206- K: I'm definitely

207- J: [ Definitely yeah

208- D [ They need that they can't understand otherwise (.)

209- K: Yeah (0.6)

210- M: And if you add a load of extra words (0.4) it's just extra things to distract from your

211- main point =

212- Z: [ Emm

213- M: [ So with a child (.) it's as simple and direct as it (.) could be (0.4)

214- K: And I think children are less sensit(hh)ive as well

After 10 seconds

215- J: Oh yeah (.) chi w we as adults can get so upset if somebody comes direct (.) we we

216- need that soft =

[  
((Door slamming))

217- J: [ but I think children they (.) just accept you as (.) you know

218- M: [ And I accept children when

219- children say things (0.3) directly

220- Z: [ Directly emm

221- M: [ When you wave two feathers (0.6) you won't fly cause you're too fat  
((slapping the table))



After 1:9 minute

**23. Directness is mostly used within families and close friends**

222- Z: Who are the people you usually (.) use directness or indirectness with and why

223- K:

[  
Emm↑

224- J: We've done that, don't we?

225- M: [ We've done that so

226- K: [ So it's more family (.)

227- R: Strangers what would you use more (.) do you think

228- D: I was wondered that myself (0.3)

229- K: indirectness was (not clear)

230- ((laughter))

231- Z: [ So you use it more with your families than with strangers (0.6)

232- J: Yeah yeah

233- K: [ More direct with family (.) e(h)m

234- Z: [ More direct direct or more indirect (.)

235- P: More direct

236- K: [ direct

237- R: [ direct

238- Z: [ With your families (.)

239- K: Yeah (.)

240- Z: Emm

241- aaah (1)

242- D: As friends that are really close to be direct with

243- J: As you get further out (.) you get more indirect

[  
((Not clear))

**24. Parents are direct to their children but not vice versa**

244- M: It works I'm direct with my children (.) and my mother is more direct with me (.) but

245- I wouldn't be more direct back to my mother

246- Z: [ Emm

247- M: [ So my mother will say to me very ((not clear))

248- I'll give you some money go and have your hair cut

249- ((Laughter))

[

250- M: But I wouldn't dream of saying (.) you're a grey bit showing do you want me to  
251- dye it  
(Not clear)  
252- M: No what I mean is it (.) it doesn't both ways she will and I'll say things to my  
253daughter that are more direct that I won't to my mother (.)  
254- K: Emm  
[  
255-Z: Emm

### 25. Using direct or indirect forms can differ through generations

256- M: Although she doesn't seem to have a problem saying direct things back so  
257- ((laughter))  
258- K: I think yeah I think yeah I think it is how we've been brought up  
259- J: Yes (.) doesn't it it  
260- depends massively yea::h  
261- P: O:K yes  
262- K: Or situations  
263- J: Yeah (0.4)  
264- K: I think it changes doesn't it (.)  
265- M: And that is come my father ((laughter))  
266- P: I would never ever (.) challenge anything my parents (0.4)  
267- M: No  
268- K: No no  
269- P: No (.) never oh God (.) even now I'm fifty six I would I would no (hffff) it's not  
270- is not worth ((laughter))  
271- R: Being direct can be just (.) can you lend me ten pounds because I've forgotten my  
272- bourse rather than  
273- K: Yeah

After 3:39 minutes

## 26. Names for indirectness

274- Z: Do you think there are there are specific names for indirect speech in English (1) do  
275- you have any (.) specific names for indirectness (0.8)  
276- D: Rudeness  
277- M: So  
[  
278- P: Y(h)e(h)s I se(h)e how it(h) is rude  
[

279- K: That's more direct  
 280- D: [ more direct  
 281- P: [ direct  
 282- K: [ Not direct (.) indirect  
 283- R: It can be rude you if =  
 [ ((Noise in the background))  
 284- R: = you're trying to get direct from from someone and they're being indirect with you  
 285- (.) I mean it just (not clear) use the appropriate (.) speech type  
 286- J: [ Fluffy  
 287- M: Waffling  
 288- K: Waf yeah waffling  
 289- D: [ Waffling waffling  
 290- M: So that indirect  
 291- J: [ Waffling (0.4) fluffy (0.4) ((not clear)) (1.3)  
 292- R: Going around  
 293- M: [ Direct =  
 294- J: [ ((Not clear)) ((laughter))  
 [

## 27. Names for directness

295- M: = direct could be seen as being rude (0.5) abrupt (1)  
 296- D: Direct  
 297- Z: [ Those those names are for direct  
 298- D: [ Direct yeah  
 299- M: [ Direct but (.) if somebody was very direct you  
 300- would say oh they've been abrupt =  
 301- J: [ Blunt  
 302- M: [ = or they've been  
 303- P: [ Blunt yeah  
 304- Z: [ Blunt! emm  
 305- M: [ Yeah

306- P:

[  
Yeah

*28. Indirectness is preferred when being criticised*

307- Z: Emm (1) so if someone criticizes you do you prefer

308- it to be direct or (0.4) indirect (.) and why (.)

309- J: Indirect because I can take it

310- P: [ ((laughter))

311- J: [ I'm still hearing what they are trying to say but I'd be

312- able to cope with it better

313- P: [ Yeah

314- D: [ Yeah  
[

*29. Direct criticism is acceptable as long as it is analytical and not personal*

315- M: I prefer it (.) direct so long as it's analytical and clinical (0.5)

316- Z: Emm(.) emm (.)

317- M: Rather than

318- P: Personal

319- M: Not just an opinion or personal so (.) if you to do aaa this wasn't quite right because

320- 75% of the children were not doing this bla bla bla (0.3) if it's mathematical and (0.4)

321- direct ((laughter))

322- K: [ And factual

323- P: Yeah

324- M: [ And factual

325- P: [ It's it's what it's

326- R: [ it is

327- K: [ Yeah

328- J: [ Yeah yeah

329- M: [ Whole spade

330- Z: Do you agree with that

331- R: Yeah emmm!

332- Z: [ Direct and indirect

333- P: [ Oh I I I I c I c(hh)

### *30. Speaking indirectly is more preferred in normal circumstances*

- 334- R: [ Do you prefer to be direct or indirect  
335- K: [ I prefer to be indirect  
336- (1) indirect yeah (0.8) unless it's something that (1.8) when you're in the situation and  
337- you need to know (0.5) urgency (.) medical yeah  
338- P: [ Yeah (.)

### *31. Anger can be one reason for being direct*

- 339- Z: So do you think direct (.) directness or indirectness are positive or negative (0.7) and  
340- why (1.5)  
341- K: I think (not clear) both  
[ ((Voices in the background))  
342- P: [ I think yeah yeah  
343- M: For example I've phoned the vets about an issue (0.5) and he said (0.3) oh I said the  
344- the cat's insurance is (.) I've sorted it and he went oh (.) how is↑ the cat↓ (0.5) now the  
345- settled way would've been oh I'm sorry amm did you know no it didn't survive (0.6) but  
346- I said (1.4) is died ((Laughter))  
[  
347- Z: ((Laughter))  
[  
348- M: Which probably (.) was a bit uncaring of his feeling as he was the vet operator on  
349- him and he didn't realize it died on the other hand (.) I did say it slightly in purpose 351-  
350- cause I thought (.) you 346- should know you're the vet operator on him and yes he has  
351- died  
352- Z: Emm  
[  
353- M: So I was slightly more direct 349- than I would've been (0.3)  
354- K: I f you're angry (.)  
355- M: Cause I was a bit cross about it so that was more direct than (.) something like death  
356- is very indirect and very  
[  
357- P: Yeah

After 28 seconds

### *32. Directness can be misunderstood*

- 358- M: And also there're some things when you say something very directly (0.7) you (1)  
359- can then relieve that moment and think I wish should said it this way I wish should said  
360- it that way if it is memorable big (.) I've only had this opportunity to tell you once that  
361- I'm pregn... if only I have this opportunity to tell you once and once I've said those that  
362- words out (.) and then once they're out you think o:h wish could redo that and have a bit  
363- more ((not clear)) with it or redo that and be more subtle with it or (.) you know so (.)  
364- being direct sometimes can leave you thinking wish I've made more ((not clear)) of that  
365- ((laughter)).

# **Naturally Occurring Data**

## Appendix (F): Arabic Natural-Occurring Data

As I mentioned in Chapter 5, I used two main methods to collect natural occurring data: recorded data, and log-book data.

### 1. Arabic Recorded Data:

I used a recorder to record several casual conversations in both Arabic and English. The Arab participants who were recorded included friends, family members, gatherings of relatives, etc. The Arabic recordings I used for this study are presented here. They start on page 191 and end on page 200.

#### Script (1)

	أ: يام (.) أعطيني شوية شاي ↓ ya:m    ʔatʕjni:    fahi    swaja mum    me give    tea    little
1-A:	Mum, give me a ↓little ↑tea

	ي: (0.5) وينه؟ wainah it where
2- Y	(0.5) There is no more tea

	أ: (ه) تبي شاي (.) tibbj    fahi want    tea
3-: A	H wants tea (.)

	س: خسارة ما فيش شاي χsara    mafi:f    fahi what loss    not there no    tea
4-S:	Oh there is no more tea [

	ه: ام (.) باش اديرلنا شاي بعدين في العشاء يا (بطة) em    bash    ʔiddjri:lna    fahi    baʕdain    fj    ʔalʕaʕa:    Batta ja em    you    us to do you    tea    later    in    the dinner    duck o
5- H:	[ Em (.) you make tea for us later at dinner (you duck)

	س: (.)	بإذن	الله
		be-ithn	Allah
		permission with	God
6- S:	(.) God willing = [OK.]		

## Script (2)

	منال:	ما تعطينيش	أنا يا هند
		mataʕtʕjni:f	Hind ja ʔana
		not me give you no	Hind oh I
1-Manal	Hind, don't give me any		

	هند: نعم		
	nʕam		
	Yes		
2- Hind	What		

	منال:	ما تعطينيش	
		mataʕtʕjni:f	
		not me give you no	
3- Manal	Don't give me any		

	هند: علاش		
	ʕalaf		
	Why		
4- Hind	Why		

	منال: لا لا والله	ما تعطينيش	الحمد لله
	wallahi la la	mataʕtʕjni:f	lillah ʔalahamdw
	by God no no	not me give you no	God to Thank
5- Manal	No no by God = [please] don't give me any, thank God = [I don't want any more]		

	هند: باهي اهوه		
	ʔahwah bahj		
	This OK		
6- Hind	So what about this		

	منال: خلاص لما	نشرب	القهوة	راهو	ماعادش ن
	lamma ʕala:sʕ	nuʕrub	ʔalqahwa	rahw	n maʕa:diʕ
	when enough	drink I	the coffee	that	I not
7- Manal	When I drink coffee I can't I				



<p>هند: باهي ]  بنيتك بالڪ تبي حاجة تانية  bnajtik balik tibbj tanja ha:ʒa  your daughter might want she OK</p>					
---	--	--	--	--	--

8- Hind	[ What about your {little} daughter she might want something else
---------	--

<p>منال: تبي ]  بانانا تاني (.) تبي بانانا  banana tibbj tanj banana tibbj  Banana want you again banana want you</p>					
---	--	--	--	--	--

9- Manal	{To her daughter} Do you want another banana (.) do you want a banana
----------	---

<p>هند: قصدي كان ]  ما تبيش موزة تعطيها  matibbi:ʃ kan qasʃdj mu:za taʃʃi:ha  not want she no if I mean  Her give you banana</p>					
--	--	--	--	--	--

10- Hind	[ I mean if she doesn't want a banana you give her {something else}
----------	--

<p>منال: الحمد ]  الله الحمد (0.4) الله  lillah ʔalahamdw lillah ʔalahamdw  God to thank God to thank</p>					
---	--	--	--	--	--

11- Manal	[ Thank God↑? = {you don't want any?} Thank God↓ {she doesn't want any}
-----------	--

<p>هند: انت منال علاش ]  ʃala:ʃ Manal ʔinti  Why Manal you</p>					
--	--	--	--	--	--

12- Hind	[ What about you Manal why
----------	-------------------------------

<p>منال: ام  Em  What</p>					
-----------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--

13- Manal	What
-----------	------

<p>هند: قصدي اي حاجة بالله عليك زيدي شوية  ʃwaja zjdj ʃalaik billahi haza ʔaj qasʃdj  little take more you on God with thing any I mean</p>					
---	--	--	--	--	--

14- Hind	I mean have something for God's sake = [please (informal)] have a little
----------	--

<p>منال: لا لا خلاص          ɣalasɕ la la          Enough no no</p>	
15- Manal	No no that's enough

<p>هند: باهي عنب شوية هكي (0.3)          hikkj fwaja ɕinab bahj          Like little grapes OK</p>	
16- Hind	A few grapes maybe (0.3)

<p>منال: لا لا          La la          No no</p>	
17- Manal	No no

<p>هند: بالله عليك          ]          ɕalaik billahi          You on God with</p>	
18- Hind	For God's sake = [please (informal)] ]

<p>منال: الحمد لله والله (.) مش متحشمة كان نبي ناخذ بروحي          bru:hj naɣið nibbj kan mithaɕma miɕ wallahi lillah ʔalhamdu          myself by take I want I if shy I not by God God to thank</p>	
19- Manal 20-	[ Thank God = [I don't want any], by God = [really] (.) I'm not shy if I want I will take some by myself

### Script (3)

<p>ع: عندك          ɕindak          you have</p>	
1-A	Have some

<p>ح: عندك عندك          ɕindak ɕindak          you have you have</p>	
2- H	Have some have some

ع: لا والله ↑ عندك ↓ مايصير منه ]				
la wallahi sindak majsʕjir minnah no by God you have happen no it of				
3- A	No ↑by God = [I insist] ↓ have some, it couldn't happen = [it is not accepted] [			

		] ح: والله = ] wallahi by God		
4- H	[	By God = [really] = [		

ع: غير كول كول ] xir ku:l ku:l just eat eat				
5- A	[ Just eat eat			

		] ح: = كلّيت مأكله:: ] ma:kla: klait eating ate I		
6- H	[ = I have eaten too:: much [			

ع: باهي (.) صحة صحة (0.5) صحتين ] bahj saʕha saʕha saʕhtain OK be healthy be healthy two health				
7- A	[ OK. (.) be in good health, be in good health (0.5), have two health = [be healthy] [			

ح: والله العظيم الا خلاص ] wallahi ʔalʕaðʕji:m ʔilla xala:sʕ by God the greatest but enough				
8- H	[ By God = [really] I don't want any more			

		ع: هيا حسونة (.) hsu:na haja Hsouna come on
9- A	Come on Hsouna [diminutive] (.)	

		ح: عندك عندك والله عندك ʕindak ʕindak wallahi ʕindak you have by God you have you have
10- H	Have some, have some, by God = [I insist] have some (1)	

		ع: حسونة (.) هو هذا ايكال هو hsu:na hwa haða ʔi:ka:l hu:a Hsouna it eating this it
11- A	Hsouna (.) do you call this eating = [you ate nothing]	

		ح: والله لا عندك wallahi ʔilla ʕindak by God but you have
12- H	By God = [I insist] you have some	

		ع: هذا تنقيش هذا (0.4) haða tanqi:ʃ haða this little this
13- A	[ This is nothing (0.4)	

		ح: لا والله خلاص (.) فل الفل (.) la wallahi ʕal:s <sup>f</sup> ful ʔilful no by God enough full the full
14- H	No, by God = [really] I = I've had enough (.) I am really full	

		ع: نقسمها أنا وبياك (.) wi:a:k ʔana niqsimha you and I it divide I
15- A	Share it with me then (.)	

		ح: لا لا la la no no
16- H	No no	

17- A	Share it with me (.) I can't eat it all by myself
-------	---

	( )	( )	[ ]	
--	-----	-----	-----	--

19- A	No, I've eaten too much, by God = [I insist] have some ↑have some ↑ <u>have some</u> .
20-	I've eaten too much, by God = [really] I've eaten too much.

21- F	[ That is enough, enough [
-------	----------------------------------

22- H	[ Just eat eat ↑eat ↑man
-------	-----------------------------

*Script (4)*

1- Mariam	Coming all the way from Sheffield to here (.) you skunk
-----------	---

<p style="text-align: right;">] ن: ضحك ]</p>	
2- Nada	<p>[ ((Laughter)) ]</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">] م: والله ما تتحشي (.) معيشي ↑ سامحيني ↓ يعني jaʕnj samhi:nj maʕlaiʃj matithaʃmj wallahi mean me forgive me excuse ashamed you not by God</p>	
3- Mariam	By God =[really] you ought to be ashamed (.) excuse me ↑forgive ↓me = [sorry]

<p style="text-align: right;">] ن: يا اخيتي هذه ماتغليبهاش اغليبها يا يما (ضحك) jumma ja ʔɪlbi:ha mataɪlbi:ha:ʃ hadj ʔuxaitj ja mum o her defeat not her defeat I no this my little sister o</p>	
4- Nada	O my little sister = [oh my God] I can't defeat = [convince] her, defeat =
5-	[persuade] her, mum.

<p style="text-align: right;">] انا والله ما نغلبها (.) والله ما نقدرها ] maniqdirha wallahi manaxlibha wallahi ʔana her able not by God her defeat no by God I</p>	
6-	By God = [really] I can't defeat = [convince] her (.) I'm not able to do so

<p style="text-align: right;">] م: غير واضح ]</p>	
7- Mariam	<p>[ ((Not clear)) ]</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">] الأم: انا نتصنت و خلاص ʕala:sʃ wa nitsʃannit ʔana I only and listen I</p>	
8- The mother	<p>[ I'm just listening ]</p>

### Script (5)

<p style="text-align: right;">زمان سلفتي (1) فهمتي دارت عجنت عجينة بيتسا ١١١ zama:n salftj fhamtj darit ʕazni:n ʕaznit aaa bitsa aaa pizza dough kneaded she did she understand my sister in law ages ago</p>	
1-	One day, my sister in law (1) OK, did she made pizza dough aaa

ما جتھاش	قنينة	مشي	اليوم	اللي	بعده	عزوزتي	قالت اا	قالت اعجنوا (.)
mazitha:f	qnainah	mfai	?alju:m	?illj	baʕdah	ʕazu:ztj	qa:lit	?aʕznw qa:lit
not came it no	nice	so	the day	that	after	my mother in law	said	knead said
2- and it wasn't very good ((laughter)) the next day my mother in law said aa said to us								

ديروا	خبزة	فرن (.)	عجننتها	حماتي	ودارتها (0.8)	دارتها
di:rw	ʕubzit	furn	ʕignitha	hama:tj	da:ritha	da:ritha
do	bread	oven	it knead she	my sister in law	it did she	it did she
3- make make the bread dough (.) my sister in law (her husband's sister) kneaded it and						
4- made it (0.8) made it						

عبتها	بالسكر (.)	لما	جت	عزوزتي	بت	اا بتديزها ((غير واضح))
ʕabbitha	bissukkur	lamma	ʕit	ʕazu:ztj	bit	biddi:rha
she	with it full	when	came she	my mother in law	will	it do she will
5- and put lots of sugar in it (.) when my mother in law wanted to bake it ((not clear))						

قالت	هده	شني	خيركم	شن	درتولها (.)	قالتلها	حماتي
qa:lit	hadj	ʕnj	ʕairkum	ʕin	dirtu:lha	qa:litilha	hamatj
said she	this	what	you what	what	it to did you	her to said she	my sister in law
6- she said what is this what's wrong with you (for all) what did you do to it (.) her							

درتلها	السكر	قالتلها	و	علاش	قالتلها (.)	باش	تجيني	ناشطة
dirtilha	sukkar	qa:litilha	wa	ʕala:ʕ	qa:litilha	ba:ʕ	tʕjnj	na:ʕtʕa
it to did I	the sugar	her to said she	and	why	her to said she	to	me come it	nice
7- daughter said I added sugar to it. She said why. She said (.) because I wanted it to be nice								

وحلوة	مش زي	متاعة	البائرات	البائرات	تجيهم	العجينة	مش باهية
hilwa	zai	mta:ʕit	?ilba:jra:t	?ilba:jra:t	tʕi:hum	ʕaʕzi:na	ba:hia
delicious	as	of	the unskilled	the unskilled	it	the dough	good not
8- and delicious not like dough which is made by unskilled people (.) only unskilled							
9- people's dough is not good.							

## Script (6)

داليا: تعرفي	(نوال)	قرت	للخامس	بس
taʕrfi	(nawal)	gret	lilxamis	Bes
know you	(Nawal)	studied	the fifth to	Only
1- Dalia Do you know, (Nawal) studied only:: up to year five				

] ((ضجة في الخلفية)) ]	
2-	[ ((noise in the background)) ]

] ريم: ما شاءا: الله ((ضحك)) Allah maxa God wills ]	
3- Reem	[ God bless he::r ((laughter)) ]



## 2. Arabic Log-book Data:

Following Grainger (2011), whenever I realised that an incident might be relevant to my research, I wrote it down immediately in a log book. The Arabic log-book examples I used for this study are presented in this section. They start on page 201 and end on page 205.

### Example (1)

كنت	في	حوش	خوي	في	ليلة	ولدي	عمره	أربعة	سنين
kunt	fj	hu:f	χu:j	fj	lajlah	wildj	ʕumrah	ʔarbʕa	sni:n
I was	in	home	my brother	in	night	my son	his age	four	years

1- One night, I was at my brother's home. My four year-old son

قال	لخوي	خالتي	أعطيني	الريموت	أنا	قلت	لولدي:
qa:l	liχu:j	χa:lʃ	ʔaʕtʕinj	ʔalrimu:t	ʔanan	qult	liwildj
said he	my brother to	my uncle	me give	the controller	I	said I	my son to

2- said to my brother: uncle, give me the controller. I said to my son:

قول من فضلك	لخالك	خوي	شافلي	و	قال:	ما نتخيلش
fadʕlik min qu:l	liχalik	χu:j	ʃa:flj	wa	qa:l	manitχajiliʃ
favour of say	your uncle to	my brother	me to looked	and	said he	not imagine I no

3- say 'please' to your uncle. My brother looked at me and said: I cannot imagine

روحي	نعلم	صغاري	حاجات	زي	هادي
ru:hj	nʕallim	sʕra:rj	haza:t	zaj	hadj
myself	teach I	my children	things	like	this

4- teaching my children things like that.

### Example (2)

سنا	بنوض	نمشي	يا	أمانتي	أنا	توا
binnu:dʕ	nimʃj	ja	ʔamanj	ʔana	tawa	now
get up	walk I	o	Amanj	I		

1- Sana | Amani, I'm going home now

أمانتي: شنو!	والله	ما صارت	بالله
ʃinw	wallahi	masʕa:rit	ballah
what	by god	happen not	by God

2- Amani | What! by God = [I insist] it can't be = [you won't go home]

سنة: لا	لا	ما تحلفيش	والله	الا	بنمشي
la	la	matahilfi:f	wallahi	?illa	binimfj
no	no	not swear	by God	but	go I

3- Sana | No no, don't swear by God, by God = [really] I want to go

أمانى: علاش	شن	فيه
ʕala:f	ʃin	fi:h
way	what	it in

4- Amani | Why do you want to go?

سنة: لا	والله	تعرفي	الصغار	و	هكي	بنمشي	والله
la	wallahi	taʕirfj	?alsʕira:r	wa	hikkj	binimfj	wallahi
no	by God	know you	the children	and	like	go I	by God

5- Sana | No, you know the children are waiting for me, by God = [really] I want to go

أمانى: شن	قاعدين	بروحهم	الصغار
ʃin	qa:ʕdi:n	bru:hhum	?alsʕira:r
what	sitting	themselves	the children

6- Amani | Are your children on their own

سنة: لا	هم	معاهم	بوهم	لكن	والله	الا	بنمشي
la	humma	maʕa:hum	bu:hum	lakin	wallahi	?illa	binimfj
no	they	them with	their father	but	by God	but	go I

7- Sana | No, their father is with them, but by God = [really] I have to go

أمانى: اقعدى	اقعدى	بلا	هبال	زايد	والله	ماكي	ماشية
?uqaʕdj	?uqaʕdj	bla:	haba:l	zajed	wallahi	makj	ma:fja
stay	stay	without	craziness	more	by God	not	going

8- Amani | Don't be crazy, stay stay, by God = [I insist] you won't go

سنة: غير	ما تحلفيش	بس
ʕir	matahilfi:f	bis
just	not swear	only

9- Sana | Just don't swear by God

أمانى: والله	مادخلني	فيك	الاما	تقعدى	و	مانك	ماشية	توا
wallahi	madaɣalnj	fi:k	?illama	tuqaʕdj	wa	ma:nik	maʕia	tawa
by God	me bother not	you of	will	stay	and	not	now going	now

10- Amani | By God = [really] I don't care about what you are saying, you won't go now

سنة: ما عنكش	حق	تحلفي
maʕindikif	haq	tahilfj
not you have no	right	swear

11- Sana | You shouldn't have sworn

أمانتي: خلاص ħalas <sup>f</sup> enough	حلفت ħalaft sworn I	توا tawa now
1- Amani   I've already sworn by God		

### Example (3)

رانيا : تعرفي taħirfj know you	ليلي lajlā Laila	عندي ħindj have I	صاحبتني s'a:ħibtj my friend	قالتلي qa:litlj me to said	ليلي lajlā Laila	مغرورة maħru:ra arrogant	هلبة ħalba too much
1- Rania   Do you know Laila; a friend of mine said to me, Laila is so arrogant.							

ليلي : و wa and	انت ħinti you	شن šin what	قلتيلها qultil:ħa her to said you
2- Laila   And what did you say to her?			

رانيا : ما قلتها maqultilħa her said I no	شي. ħaj thing
3- Rania   I said nothing.	

ليلي: و wa and	انت ħinti you	في fj in	رايك rajek your opinion	أنا ħana I	مغرورة؟ maħru:ra arrogant
4- Laila   So, do you think I am arrogant?					

رانيا: مش miħ not	أنا ħana I	اللي ħillj that	قلت. qult said I
5- Rania   It was not me who said that.			

ليلي: فاهمة, faħma I understand	لكن lakin but	انت ħinti you	في fj in	رايك rajek your opinion	أنا ħana I	مغرورة؟ maħru:ra arrogant
6- Laila   I know, but do you think I am arrogant?						

رانيا: علاش ħalaħ why	تسالي taħalj ask you	فيا؟ fja me in	هي ħja she	اللي ħillj that	قالت qa:lit said she	مش miħ not	أنا. ħana I
7- Rania   Why are you asking me? My friend said that, not me.							

#### Example (4)

مريم: ولدك	ضاعف	ضاعف	لن	خلاص
wildik	d'a:ʕuf	d'a:ʕuf	lin	ʕalasʕ
your son	thin	thin	too	much
1- Mother-in-law	Your son became really really thin			

أسماء: أكيد	نسيتي	كيف كان	كان	أضعف	من هكي	هلبة	توا	أحسن	من قبل
?aki:d	nsaitj	ka:n	ka:n	?adʕuf	hikkj	halba	tawa	?ahsan	qabil
surely	forgot	was	was	thinner	of	much	now	better	before
2- Asma	You may've forgotten how he used to be, he was much thinner than now								

حتى	بنتك	قالتلي	ماشاء	الله	عليه	توا	خير	من قبل
hattà	bintik	qa:litlj	maʕa:ʔ	?allah	ʕaljah	tawa	ʕajr	qabel
even	your daughter	she said to me	welling	Allah	him on	now	better	before
3-	he is much better now than before, even your daughter said to me he is much better now.							

سالم: كول	كول	ولدي	هذا	حوش	جذك	مخليينك	جيغان
ku:l	ku:l	wildj	hada	hu:f	ziddik	myallji:nik	zi:ʕa:n
eat	eat	my son	this	home	your grandparents	leave they	hungry
4- Father-in-law	(to the baby): eat eat my son, your grandparents seem to leave you hungry						

#### Example (5)

أنا: لازم	تقول	من	فضلك	لخويلة	والا	لا ؟
la:zim	tqu:l	min	fadʕlik	lixwaila	walla	la
should	say	of	favour	aunt to	or	no
Me: You should say 'please' to your aunt, shouldn't you?						

أختي:	ماتعدلش	على	أمك	هذه	هابلة
matʕaddilif	ʕala	?ummyk	hadj	ha:bla	
you no	not bother	on	your mother	this	crazy
My sister (speaking to my son): Don't bother about what your mum says; she is crazy.					

#### Example (6)

فاطمة: كوني	عاقلة	و	ماديريش	شطانة	لما	نمشي.	و	بنسال
ku:nj	ʕa:qla	wa	maddirif	ʕtʕa:na	lamma	nimʕj	wa	binasʔal
be	behaved	and	not do you no	misbehaving	when	go I	and	ask I will
1- Fatima	Behave well and don't trouble your aunt while I am out. I'll ask							

عمتك	لما	بنجي	و	كان	درتي	شطانة	بنغضب	منك
ʕamtik	lamma	binɟj	wa	ka:n	dirɟj	ʃtʕa:na	bnurdʕub	minnik
your aunt	when	back I	and	if	did you	misbehaving	angry I will	you of
2-	your aunt when I come back, and I would be very angry if you misbehaved							

### Example (7)

كنت	جاية	من	بريطانيا	و	جتي	بنت	خالي	فنهدرزوا
kunt	ʒa:ja	min	bri:tʕanja	wa	ɟitɟj	bint	χalj	fanhadirzu:
I was	I coming	from	Britain	and	me came	daughter	uncle	we talk
1-	When I came back Libya from Britain, my cousin came to see me. We were talking							

علي	اللبس	مشي	قالت	لي:	شكله	في	بريطانيا	مافيش	لبس	حلو
ʕala	ʔallibis	mʃaj	qa:lit	lj	ʃaklah	fj	bri:tʕanja	mafi:ʃ	libis	hilw
about	clothes	then	said she	me to	it seem	in	Britain	not	nice clothes	
2	about clothes when she said to me: it seems that children's clothes are not nice in Britain.									

للصغار	فاستنتجت	إن	ذوقي	في	لبس	صغاري	مش	عاجيها
liSʕra:r	fastantaɟt	ʔinna	du:qj	fj	libis	Sʕra:rj	mif	ʕa:ɟibha
children to	concluded I	that	my taste	in	clothes	my children	not	it like she
3	I concluded that she did not like my taste in choosing my children's clothes.							

## Appendix (G): English Naturally-Occurring Data

### 1. English Recorded Data:

With regard to the English data, I had assistance from some English people who agreed to help me to record the data for my research. The English participants who were recorded also included friends or family members. The English recordings I used for this study are presented here. They start on page 206 and end on page 207.

#### *Example (1)*

- 1- Jack: I thought you said play I was like you can stand up on some plays.  
2- Mother: (.) More?  
3- Jack: (.) Yes please.  
4- Mack: (.) What plays can you stand up in?  
5- Jack: The globe.  
6- Mother: About that (.)  
7- Jack: (0.3) Urrr a little bit smaller (.) the globe theatre you can stand up (.) a::nd  
[  
8- Mack: That's because  
9- they didn't have chairs then.  
10- Jack: There's some others actually  
[  
((caugh))  
[  
11- Jack: They have chai::rs.  
[  
((Not clear))  
[  
12- Mack: They hadn't invented them  
[  
13- Jack: That's not true  
14- though  
[  
15- Mack: Can I have some more.  
[  
17- Mother: ↑ Just ↓ a minute.  
18- Jack: (0.4) Some others as well (0.6 not many but some (1) ((whispering)) It wasn't  
19- funny  
((Not Clear))  
[  
20- Mack: Then why did you laugh?

21- Mother: [ How about that  
 22- Mack: Yes please (3)  
 23- Jack: So Mack (.) it looks like you're in on your own tonight (.)  
 24- Mack: Really  
 [ 25- Mother: Yeah cause I'm out (2) Which one do you want, that one or that one  
 [ 26- Jack: ↑Why are you so ↓lo::nely  
 [ 27- Mother: Mack?  
 28- Mack: Actually I'm going out tonight. Urrr that please.  
 29- Mother: This one? (.)  
 30- Mack: ↑Yes ↓please (.) not a ↑lot ↓please.

---

### *Example (2)*

1- Andrea: Can you have some more salad?  
 2- David: Me:::?  
 [ ((Noise in the background))  
 [ 3- Andrea: Yeah.  
 4- David: I've had loads.

---

### *Example (3)*

1: Andrea: Do you not like black olives?  
 2: David: No, I hate black olives (.)  
 3: Andria: Well, try that one cause it's got lemon on it  
 [ 4: David: aaa No, I don't trust it (0.4)  
 5: Andrea: No but just ↑try ↓it (1) it's really really nice.

## **2. English Log-book Data:**

Some English people agreed to help me to note down incidents, which they felt were relevant to directness or indirectness, in a log book. I also used some incidents which took place between some English people and myself in some situations, which I felt to be useful for my research.

### ***Example (1)***

1- Karin: Would you like a piece?

2- Mary: Yes please (takes a piece).

3: Jonathan: No, thank you.

4: Karin: Go on! Have some.

5: Jonathan: No it's alright. I am still full from lunch.

---

### ***Example (2)***

Me: How hard they are working! ((laughter))

The instructor: Yes, they are ((laughter))



## Appendix (H): Questionnaire for Arabic Pilot Study

الرجاء ملء الفراغات أدناه أو وضع علامة (X) في المكان المناسب:

العمر:

الجنس:

الجنسية:

1- ما معنى الأدب (التهذيب) حسب اعتقادك؟

2- كيف تعرّف قلة الأدب أو عدم التهذيب؟

3- كيف تعرّف الكلام "الغير مباشر"؟

4- ما هي المواقف التي تستعمل فيها الكلام الغير مباشر عادة؟

5- هل باعتقادك الليبيون بوجه عام يميلون لاستخدام الكلام الغير مباشر في المواقف التي تستدعي التهذيب، أم في المواقف التي تستدعي قلة التهذيب؟

6- كليبي (ليبية)، هل تفضل استخدام الكلام المباشر أو غير المباشر؟ ولماذا؟

7- هل بإمكانك إعطاء مثال لموقف حدث معك شخصيا تحدثت فيه لشخص ما أو تحدث إليك شخص ما مستخدما الكلام الغير مباشر. الرجاء استخدام اللهجة العامية في إعطاء المثال مع أكبر تفاصيل ممكنة للموقف (صلة قرابتك بالشخص، المكان، الأشخاص الحاضرون للموقف وهكذا).

## **Appendix (I): Questionnaire for English Pilot Study**

I would appreciate your help with my research. Could you please fill in the blanks or put an (x) in the appropriate place in the following.

Age:

Sex:

Nationality:

1-Could you please write in the space provided below what you think 'politeness' means?

2- How would you define 'impoliteness'?

3- How would you define 'indirectness'?

4- In what situations do you usually use indirectness?

5- Do you think English people in general tend to use directness or indirectness more?

6- Do you, as an English person, prefer direct or indirect forms? Why?

7- Please give an example of a real situation in which you spoke, or someone spoke to you, using indirectness; please give as much details as you can.

## **Appendix (J): Consent Forms**

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 24-7-2013

I Raja Ali (name)

Address: Al Zawi, Libya

give my consent to Zahab Kiekam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: Raja Ali

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 18/3/2014.....

I ..Fatma Masuad.....(name)

Address...ALbaida, Libya

give my consent to ..Zainab Kirkam.....(name)

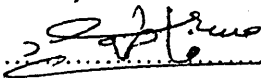
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- ▣ What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- ▣ Which group is being targeted and why
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- ▣ The number of participants
- ▣ Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- ▣ Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 18-3-2014

I Farah Muhamed (name)

Address: Sabha, Libya

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Farah Muhamed

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- ▣ What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- ▣ Which group is being targeted and why
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- ▣ The number of participants
- ▣ Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- ▣ Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 18/3/2014

I Ali Raza (name)

Address: Sukana, Aljuffra

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: Ali Raza

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 19 - 7 - 2013

I Nauma Hamed (name)

Address: Tripoli - Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: Nauma Hamed

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire



### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 19/7/2013 .....

I Fatema Abdullah (name)

Address: Alkhumus, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)


to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis .....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature:  .....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- ▣ What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- ▣ Which group is being targeted and why
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- ▣ The number of participants
- ▣ Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- ▣ Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21-7-2013 .....

I Fatima.....(name)

Address Bangazi - Libya

give my consent to Zainab.....(name)

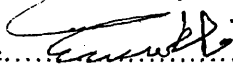
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 19/7/2014

I Rahman Zarug (name)

Address Wadan, Alquttra, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Korkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Rahman Zarug

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 17 - 7 - 2014

I Asma Mustafa (name)

Address: Benghazi, Libya

give my consent to Zainab Kirkam (name)

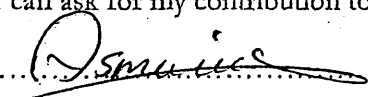
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: 

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 22-7-2013

I, Karima Ahmad (name)

Address Tripoli, Gurgarish, Libya

give my consent to Zainab (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Karima Ahmad

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- ▣ What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- ▣ Which group is being targeted and why
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- ▣ The number of participants
- ▣ Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- ▣ Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: ...22-7-2003...

I ...Fatima Zaid.....(name)

Address...Tripoli, Alhdaba, Libya.

give my consent to ...Zainab.....(name)

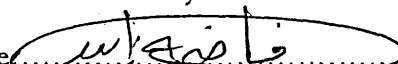
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 20...7...2013

I Samia.....(name)

Address Tripoli Libya

give my consent to Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Samia.....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 23/7/2013 .....

I ... Fathia ALSanussi (name)

Address: Hoon, ALguffea

give my consent to Zanab Kirkam (name)

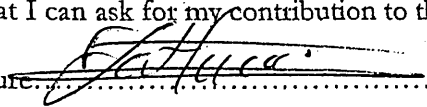
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context.

Thesis .....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature:  .....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire



### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21.07.2013.....

I Zadia Mohamed.....(name)

Address Tripoli, Libya

give my consent to Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature.....Zadia.....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 20.7.2013

I Rima Alfardi (name)

Address: Triboli, Alniadia, Libya

give my consent to Zainab (name)

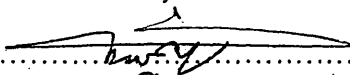
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: 

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 1/05

I Laura Forsyth (name)

Address Pye Bank, Andover St.

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

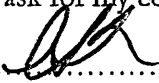
to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

disertation

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature 

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 01/05/2014.....

I... HEUSSA ORAKE.....(name)

Address... PYE BANK PRIMARY SCHOOL

give my consent to Zainab Ker.Kam.(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

..... Dissertation.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature... .....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 1/5/17

I Lucy Vickers.....(name)

Address: 41 Tipton Crescent Rd.

give my consent to Zainab Kerkani.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

dissertation.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: h. Vickers.....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- ▣ What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- ▣ Which group is being targeted and why
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- ▣ The number of participants
- ▣ Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- ▣ Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 01/05.....

I Meliss Drake.....(name)

Address...Pye Bank, Andover Street

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

.....dissertation.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature..........

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/6/14

I F. Mills Brown.....(name)

Address 57 Harcourt Rd, Slough

give my consent to Zainab.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Studies

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature F. Mills Brown

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21<sup>st</sup> June 2014

I Sara Mills (name)

Address 57 Nanavel Rd, Sheffield S10 1DH

give my consent to Z. Korkan (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature Sara Mills

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- ▣ What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- ▣ Which group is being targeted and why
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- ▣ The number of participants
- ▣ Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- ▣ Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- ▣ Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire



### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21st June 2014

I G. Mills Brown (name)

Address: 57 Harrow Rd, Sheffield

give my consent to Zamir (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Research

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: G. Mills Brown

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013.....

I Hisham Shembesh.....(name)

Address: 88 Nottingham cliff.....

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam.....(name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

Thesis.....

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: [Signature].....

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I Housam SHEBANI (name)

Address 69 Lopham street

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I Mohamed Ehsan (name)

Address: 105 Headford Gardens

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)


to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

The researcher has explained to me that I can withdraw from the recording session at any time and that I can ask for my contribution to the data not to be used.

Signature: 

## 2. Ethical Guidelines for the Composing and Delivery of Questionnaires

The researcher should meet with the Director of Studies or module leader to discuss the following issues when constructing a questionnaire:

- What the questionnaire is trying to elicit
- Which group is being targeted and why
- Whether the questionnaire will deliver what is required
- The number of participants
- Whether the questions which are asked are in any way problematic, for example, asking for too much self-revelation on the part of participants
- Whether the questionnaire demands that the participant devotes too much time to the questionnaire
- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire

### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21-12-2013

I, ABDALRAMAN AMWES (name)

Address 3, Netherthorpe place

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

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### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I Tarek Abdelm (name)

Address: 7. Stokton close

give my consent to Zainab Keryam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

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### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 04.07.2015

I, ANAS ZAKMOVH (name)

Address: 86 NORWOOD ROAD

give my consent to ZALNAB KERHAN (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

therapy

and I will be given/ shown a copy of the results when the research is completed.

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Signature: A. ZAKMOVH

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Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013.....

I, Almahdi Roadi (name)

Address: 9 coupe Road

give my consent to Tainab Kerham (name)

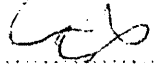
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- Whether the participant incurs any expense because of completing the questionnaire



### Consent Form for the Use of Recorded Material

Date: 21/12/2013

I NAEEM (name)

Address: 45 McRose Road

give my consent to Zainab Kerkam (name)

to transcribe, and use the data which has been recorded by him/her

The researcher has explained to me that the transcribed material will be used in the following context

thesis

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